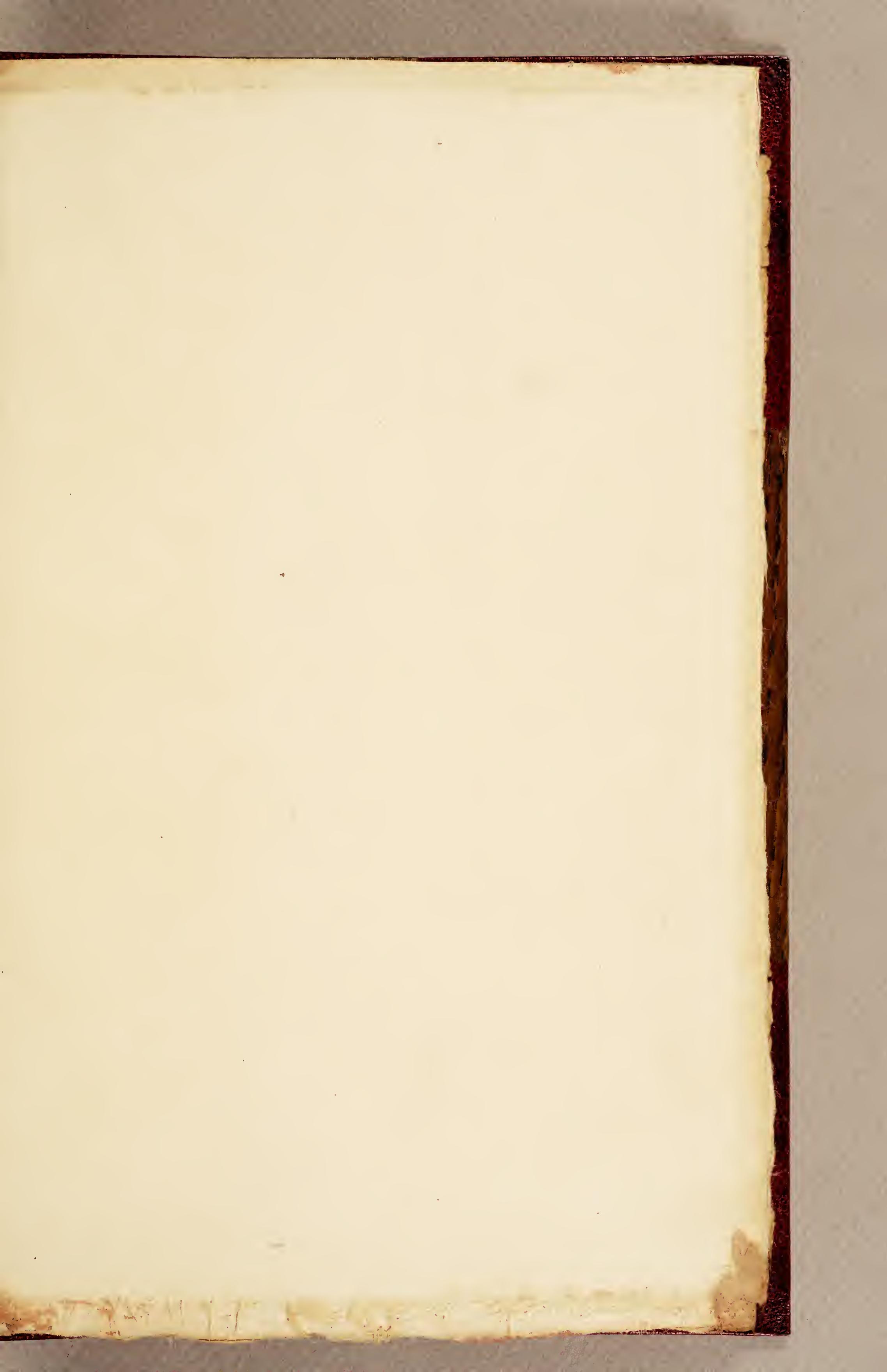
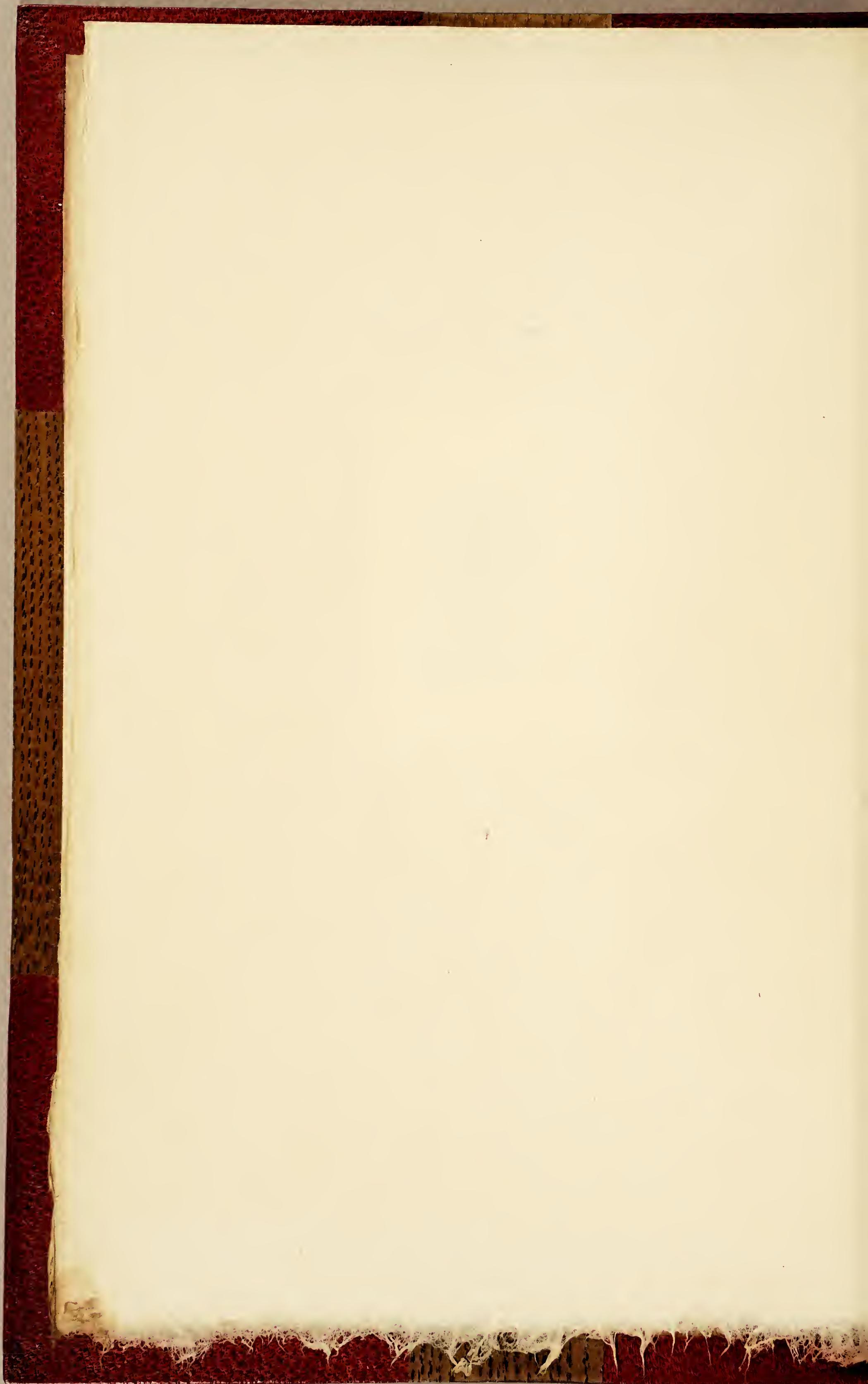


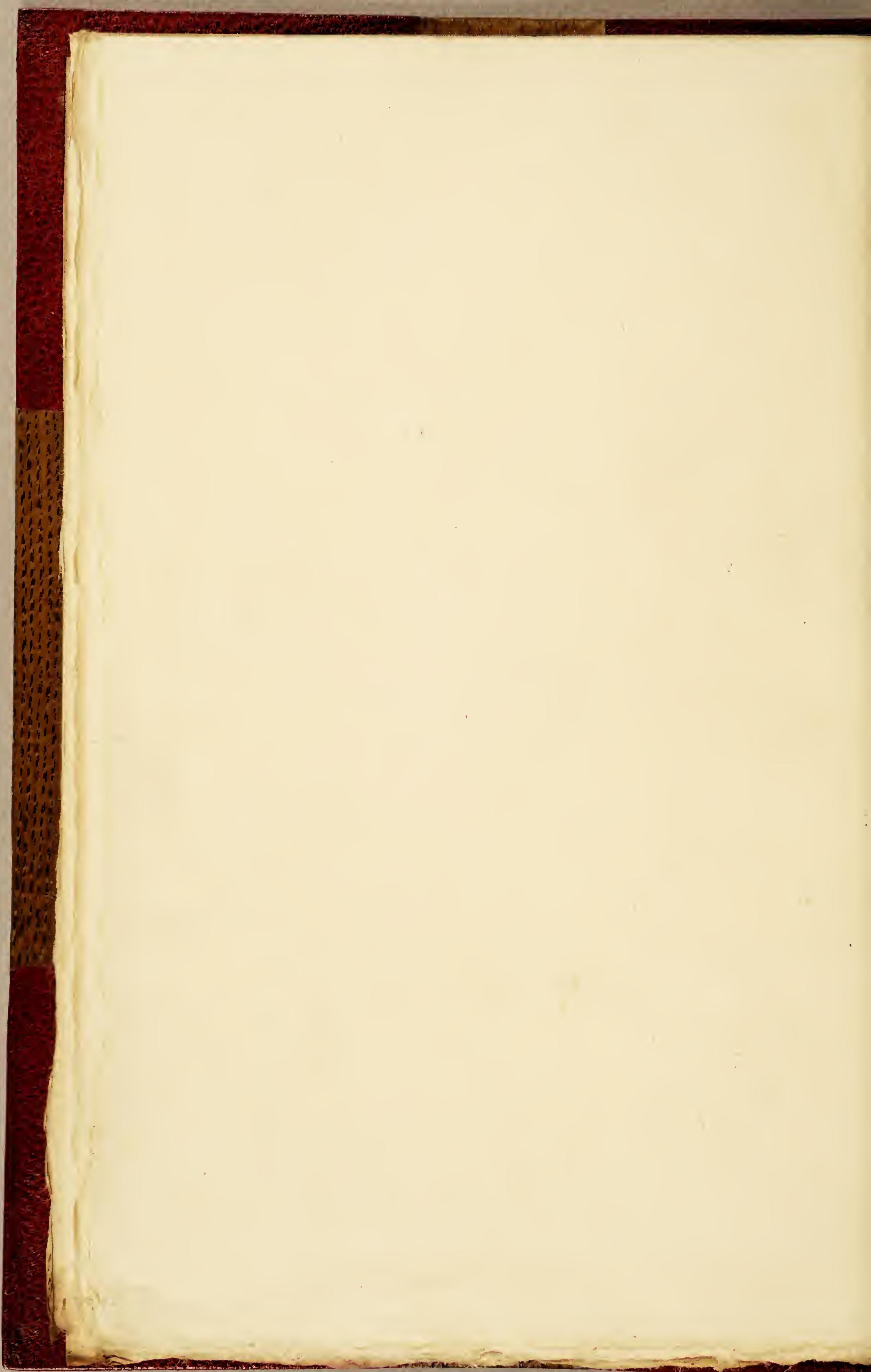
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A

L E T T E R
TO THE
G R E A T M A N,
Occasioned by the
Letter to Two GREAT MEN.

In which many of that Writer's Absurdities, Inconsistencies and Contradictions are detected. And the fatal Tendency of his Propositions exposed.

By a Citizen of L O N D O N.
A Disciple of SIDNEY and LOCKE.

Delenda est Carthago.

L O N D O N:

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A

LETTER, &c.

SIR,

IT is no Wonder if you, who equal all your Predecessors in Administration (even the *Roman Fabricius*) in a disinterested Conduct and Contempt of Lucre, and have excelled the ablest of them in Counsel, and done greater Services to your Country, than the *Cecils*, *Walsingham*, *Somers*, *Godolphin*, and victorious *Marlborough*, could ever boast, should become the Object of his Envy, who once stood as high in the Love, Esteem, and Confidence of his Fellow-Subjects, as you now do: And this in a much more powerfnl Situation, to save his Country, having, in the full Zenith of his Glory, a Majority in the H—e of C——ns, to enable him to execute every Attempt for the Preservation of *Britain*. His Fall from Popularity, was indeed the Work of his own Indiscretion and Unsteadiness, but his Fall from his Heaven of Ambition and Gain, was the Effect of your Virtue and Eloquence. I wish with all my Heart, that the *Author* of the *Letter to Two Great Men*, may be able to convince the World, that by his Advice to you, with Respect to the Peace in View, he had any better Design than to reduce you to a Level with himself, to supplant you, and to substitute himself, and the few belonging to him, in the C——b——t, by a Plan highly dangerous to his Country.

B

If

If you embrace his Counsel in many Particulars, he may possibly imagine you will soon after lose the Affections of your *fond idolozing* Country, and fall as low in the Opinions of your Fellow-Subjects, as they have done, who formerly neglected the favourable Opportunity that Providence put into their Hands, of saving *Old England*.

But perhaps it may be asked, Is it possible that a Man should gratify his private Passions and Resentments at the Expence of his Country's Interest and Happiness? I say, in Answer, we have seen before now a *Man*, carrying on an Opposition, for upwards of twenty Years, against a powerful *Minister*, which can be well ascribed to no other Cause, since when he succeeded, and brought him within the Reach of Justice, he suffered *him* to retire with Impunity, making a Bargain for himself, and few of his Friends, without bestowing one single Thought upon his miserable Country, or obtaining one single Advantage for her, worthy Notice, at a Time when nothing could have withstood his Efforts for her Service. From whence we may fairly conjecture, his Country was not the Object of his Opposition; and History furnisheth sufficient Instances of Countries sacrificed to the Resentment of disappointed Ambition. *Alcibiades*, to revenge himself upon the *Athenians*, for their Jealousy of his Pride and Ambition, headed the Armies of *Sparta* against them, defeated them, and would have totally brought them under the Yoke of their Enemies, if the Jealousy of the *Spartans* had not forced him back to the Deliverance of his Country. And *Coriolanus*, banished for his treasonable Designs, would infallibly have stifled in its Infancy the rising Greatness of *Rome*, if the Intreaties of his Mother

ther and Wife had not prevailed over that Spirit of Revenge which breathed the entire Ruin of his Country.

But, whether our Author's extraordinary Performance is the Result of Envy and Resentment against you, or the Effect of any other Cause, it is of so fatal a Tendency to some of the most valuable Interests of this Nation, that it well deserves a thorough Examination.

I waited for a considerable Time before I undertook this Task, in hope, that some abler Pen would enter upon it. *The Reasons why the approaching Treaty of Peace should be debated in Parliament, &c.* made its Appearance. I read it with the highest Delight. The Author hath given a noble Instance of his Love for his Country, by answering that unconstitutional Part of the Letter, under my Consideration, wherein the Author premiseth, that, " by the Extinction of factious Opposition, the Channel of Parliamentary Instruction is stopped ; so that no other, but that of the Press is left open for those Heads of Advice, to which it may be worth a Minister's while to attend."

The Author of the *Reasons* hath endeavoured to restore the Honour and Dignity of Parliaments, by giving the Throne Advice, on the important Points of making War and Peace, by Arguments of irresistible Force, supported both by Reason and historical Facts. And tho' he does not go quite so far, as to insist upon it, as a Right of Parliament, to be consulted upon those great national Points ; yet, from the many Precedents he cites, from the Entrance of the Normans down to the Days of Queen *Elizabeth*, we may justly infer, that to be consulted by the Throne, upon those interesting Occasions, was a Right of Parliament. For if we seldom meet

with instances of those Princes who have generally passed in the World for good, relinquishing the least Tittle of Prerogative for the Benefit of their Subjects, it is not to be supposed, that so many infamous Tyrants as are mentioned by this Writer, and who were employed during their whole Reigns in Attempts upon the Liberties of the Nation, would have lessened the Prerogative of the Crown in so essential an Article, by asking the Advice of Parliaments; if they had not known it to be a parliamentary Right, to advise the Throne in those critical Events. And Mr. Nathaniel Bacon in his excellent historical Discourse upon the Government of *England*, avers the Right of making War and Peace, to be by the old Constitution only, in the national Assemblies or Parliaments. But since our Kings have so long enjoyed this claim; as a Prerogative of the Crown, let them enjoy it on: I desire not to wrest it from them. I only concur with the Author of the *Reasons*, that, if his Majesty should think fit, to ask the Advice of his Parliament, upon the most interesting Subject of the approaching Peace, by Way of Condescension only, it would effectually secure the Claim of the Crown to the above Prerogative; and would equally redound to his Majesty's Glory and the Good of his loyal Subjects. This candid and excellent Writer, I hope, will pardon me if I lament that he has contented himself, with the Discussion of this single Point in the *Letter to Two great Men*; without examining all the fallacious Reasonings contained in it: But tho' he has been pleased to stop short, the Public is nevertheless highly obliged to him for so glorious an Effort to restore the ancient Honour and Dignity of Parliaments. I heartily wish it
within

within the Compass of my Pen, to give him the Praises due to his great Merit; but that is a Theme, worthy only of the Eloquence of a *Demosthenes*, a *Cicero*, or a *Pitt*.

Before I proceed to remark upon this strange *Letter to Two great Men*, permit me, Sir, to assure you, that by this Address, I presume not to offer you any Advice, were I equal to that Task; the happy Effects of your great Wisdom and steady Resolution, in rescuing your Country from that Precipice of Destruction, to which the infamous Hands of Corruption, Servility, and Ignorance had brought it; and the frequent and undeniable Proofs you have given the Public of your inviolable Attachment to the Constitution, would render it unnecessary and impertinent.

My Intention then, Sir, is to convey to the People an Antidote against that intoxicating Potion, prescribed to them by our *Hanoverian* and *Gallic* Author; a Potion tending, not more to injure your Fame and diminish your Popularity, than to throw the People into a violent Love Fit with *H——r*, and draw them, as it were, into an undivorceable Marriage with that ordinary and paltry Strumpet, whom they have kept so long at a most exorbitant Expence; like prodigal Spendthrifts, who lavish their Substance almost to the last Mite, in gay Apparel, to deck some mean polluted Prostitute, wasting a naturally healthy Constitution in her contaminating and filthy Embraces.

In this Address, Sir, I shall make bold to separate you from the unworthy Partnership, in which our Author has unnaturally yoked you; and in which you are no less unnaturally yoked, than in the great Business of the State. Your Con-

Connection with that other great Man, addressed by our *Author*, being as discordant and incongruous, as is that between *Great Britain* and *little H——r*; for it is utterly impossible there should be an harmonious and perfect Union, between a Person of your capacious Genius, extensive Knowledge, firm Integrity, and inviolable Love of your Country, and invariable Attachment to her Interest and Glory; and one to whom I wish I could, with good Authority, ascribe the least of your great Talents or eminent Virtues. When we see such an Union between such absolute Contradictions in Nature, we may expect to see Oil and Water incorporate, and to grope in total Darkness, at noon Day, when the Sun shines forth in its full Lustre.

Leaving it then, Sir, to your own Wisdom, to escape the Net laid in your Sight, and hoping the Preservation of my Country, from your Ability and Integrity; I will now endeavour to shew, that the Conditions of Peace, proposed by our Author, are calculated, intirely for the Security and Interest of *H——r*; that they tend to the *Dishonour*, *Distress*, and *Ruin* of his *Native Country*, by putting it into the Power of *France* to recover her almost lost Trade, and her humbled naval Strength; to face again our Fleets; to break the Treaty, and even to retake from us the poor Remainder, the Author is pleased to leave us of those useful Conquests, which by your means, Sir, we have so gloriously taken from her; and which poor Remainder he erroneously represents to be more *beneficial* to *Britain*, than those *real* and *more solid* Advantages with which he proposes to purchase a Peace with *France*, for the Security of *H——r*.

I shall

I shall likewise endeavour to shew, that *Hanover* is not so wholly innocent of our Misfortunes, as our *Author* would have us believe, and that this Nation is not obliged, by any Principle of Gratitude, Honour, Reputation, or Generosity whatever, to support her in her present Distress: But that, on the contrary, it is the *truest* Interest and best Policy of *Great Britain*, to let her be utterly destroyed, if she cannot be totally separated from us.

When our *Author's* Arguments in favour of *Hanover* and *France*, are thoroughly canvassed, we shall find them of no more Validity, than Sir *Robert Filmer's*, in favour of despotic Power, and indefeasible hereditary Right, derived from *Noah* and the *Patriarchs*; which Mr. *Locke* calls a Rope of Sand; and, like *Filmer*, we shall find him in Defence of a bad Cause, full of gross Absurdities and palpable Contradictions.

The *Author's* first Proposition (for I will do him strict Justice) is, to insist upon the Demolition of *Dunkirk*, pursuant to that Article of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, whereby *France* engaged to demolish all the Fortifications of the City of *Dunkirk*, to ruin the Harbour, to break the Dykes and Sluices, at the *French* King's Ex-pence.

I say, our *Author's* Proposition, to insist upon the Demolition of *Dunkirk*, agreeable to the express Letter of the forgoing Article, " before " you enter upon any new Treaty, or listen to " any plausible Proposals whatever" (see page 24 of the *Author's* Letter) or else to insist upon their sending us Hostages, to secure the total Demolition of that Harbour, and of the Fortifications of *it*, and the City, in case any insuperable Difficulties should attend our doing ourselves Justice

Justice on this Head, before the Peace. If, for Instance, which perhaps may be the case, it should be found, that it cannot be complied with, unless we consent to a Cessation of Arms, during the Time of Negotiation, &c. see Page 26, is most certainly Right; for those Reasons which our Author draws from Justice, the Honour of this Nation, and the Propriety of taking a Pledge from the perfidious *French*, as the Security of their Performance of this Article of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, and as an Earnest of their future Faith, in observing the Conditions of the approaching Peace. If our Hanoverised and Frenchified Politician, had concluded this Head with these Reasons, he would have avoided one gross Absurdity, and I think a palpable Contradiction. It was not enough, it seems, to satisfy the Nation in general of the Fitness of the Proposition, by solid and sufficient Arguments; but it was necessary to cajole the trading Part of it, by an Affectation of a mighty Concern and Zeal for their Interest, into a Confidence in him, and thereby to lull them into a blind Security; that so zealous a Friend could propose nothing prejudicial, nothing fatal to the National Commerce; and consequently to divert them from a proper Attention to his *H——r Plan*; which if it takes Place, the Merchant and Manufacturer may, I will be bold to say, in no very long Time, take leave of Commerce, and the Nation of her naval Strength and Glory. The Design was artful, and well worthy of our reputed Author, and might have succeeded, if in bringing it to pass, he had not blundered. In Page 18, he endeavours to fix the Merchants and the whole Nation's Attention upon *Dunkirk*, as one of the greatest Objects of their Fears and Concern,

with

with Respect to *France*, by alarming them with the amazing Mischief it had, by its Situation, almost opposite to the Mouth of the *Thames*, done to the Trade of *England* during King *William's* and Queen *Anne's* Wars. In Page 27, he renews the Alarm, and treats the Demolition of *Dunkirk* as a Matter of the highest Consequence; so that one would think he deemed it a Point, upon which the very Existence of this Island depended, representing *Dunkirk* as a *Carthage to Britain*. I will cite our Author's own Words, which compared with what he said in the Pages above alluded to, will prove the *Author* guilty of gross Absurdity, at least, if not of palpable Contradiction.

"I know well, that political Opinions concerning the Importance of any particular Object are as frequently dictated by Whim and Fashion, as built on solid Reason and Experience. Perhaps some may think, that this is the Case with regard to the Necessity of demolishing *Dunkirk*. But tho' it may not at present be so favourite an Object of national Politics, as it was in Queen *Anne's* Time. This has not been owing to any real Change of Circumstances, but to another Cause; to the *American* Disputes between the two Nations, which have been the great Object of the present War; and scarcely to permit us hitherto to reflect, in what other Circumstances the Infidelities of *France* must be checked at the ensuing Peace. But as this desirable Event now approaches, we cannot forget or forgive the Behaviour of our Enemies with regard to *Dunkirk*; and it will be equally necessary for the Honour and Interest of the Nation to make no Peace, without obtaining full Satisfaction on this Head. It will be necessary for the Honour and Interest of this Nation to insist upon this, if it were only to shew to *Eu-*

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rope

rope in general, and to *France* in particular, that we have too much Spirit not to resent Injuries, and too much Wisdom not to take Care, when we have it happily in our Power, to prevent them for the future ;” Pages 26, 27, 28. So far I wholly agree with our Author. But, Sir, he proceeds, and proceeding falls into Absurdity, and I think Self-Contradiction. “ But,” says he, “ the Demolition of *Dunkirk* is also necessary, if we would take Care of the Interest of the Nation. Such hath been our Success in destroying the Navy of *France*, and so unable doth that Kingdom now appear to carry on its ambitious Projects by Land, and to vie, at the same Time, with *England* for Dominion on the Sea, that we may reasonably suppose, that there is an End of *Brest* and *Toulon* Squadrons to face our Fleets ; and a future War will leave the *French* no other Way of distressing us at Sea, than to lie in Watch for our Merchant-Ships with numberless Privateers. In such a piratical War, *Dunkirk*, if its Harbour be not now destroyed, will too late be found to be of infinite Consequence ; and we shall fatally experience again, what it was in the Queen’s Time, and in the Language of her Parliament, a Nest of Pirates infesting the Ocean, and doing infinite Mischief to Trade.

“ For these Reasons, therefore, I am so old-fashioned as to expect, that our Plenipotentiaries will have this Point properly stated to them in their Instructions, and that *Delenda est Carthago*, Demolish *Dunkirk*, will be a Preliminary Article in the ensuing Negotiation.” “ For these Reasons,” excellent Reasons, indeed ! *Delenda est Carthago*, Demolish *Dunkirk*,” indeed ! Had he translated this noble Sentence of the old *Roman*

Pa-

Patriot's Speech, either demolish *France*, or demolish *H——r*, his Translation would have been *worthy* of an *Englishman's Pen*.

As the Author seems to labour chiefly for the Security of Trade, in order to tempt the Trader by this Gilding, to swallow his bitter Pill, I chose to postpone what he offers in Pages 22, 23, and 24, upon the Necessity of demolishing *Dunkirk*, from the Danger of Invasions, to which Pages I beg Leave to recur.

In Pages 22 and 23, he says, “ The two Nations had not as yet begun the late War, when we saw in one Instance, both a Proof that *Dunkirk* was again a Port, and a Port which may be made Use of to indanger the Safety of *Britain*. At the Time I now speak of, we beheld the Harbour of *Dunkirk* crowded with Transports to imbark Count *Saxe* and the Pretender, to invade us. And if that Invasion had taken Effect, from that very Port, which was to be no Port (happily the Winds were contrary to the Fleet from *Brest*) the infinite Mischief which this Nation may suffer from its Re-establishment, would have been fatally experienced.” And in the next Paragraph but one, he tells us, “ Its Privateers have done infinite Mischief to our Trade ; a Squadron of his Majesty's Navy in vain blocked up its Harbour lately, to prevent the sailing of *Thurot's* Fleet ; and it is well known, that the long threatened Invasion of these Kingdoms, which *France* in Despair meditated, would have been attempted from this Place, if the Destruction of their Ships of War by *Hawke* had not taught them the Absurdity of invading us in their celebrated flat-bottom Boats ; which we may well suppose will hardly be tried, when their Fleets, really formidable, have been destroyed in the Attempt.”

in Page 29, he tells us, " That by destroying the Naval Force of *France*, our North American Conquests cannot be taken from us." If to these absurd and contradictory Paragraphs, we add his Assertion of " the Universal *Bankruptcy* which hath crowned the Distresses of *France*," Page 38. And if we take into the Consideration, her almost total Loss of Trade, we may rest satisfied ; if the Author's above Representation of the present Condition of *France* be just and true, that our Trade is in little or no Danger of any Molestation from Privateers and Pirates, nor the Nation of Invasions from Transports and flat-bottom Boats, slipping out from *Dunkirk*, or any other Port of *France*.

For to assert, that we are in Danger from either, and to assert that the *French* are in that miserable Condition, our Author represents them in, are downright Absurdities and Contradictions, if there is any such Thing as an Absurdity or Contradiction ; and he might with equal Propriety and Truth affirm, that a *Highway Man* that hath been executed at *Tyburn*, and afterwards dissected by a *Surgeon*, will again commit *Robberies*, as that *France* will, or can do infinite Mischief to our *Trade* by its Privateers, or invade us in Transports from *Dunkirk* ; if the Destruction of their Ships of War by *Hawke* hath taught them, the Absurdity of invading us in their celebrated flat-bottom Boats ; which he says we may well suppose will hardly be tried, when their Fleets, *really formidable*, have been destroyed in the Attempt. Strange Reasoning ! we must demolish *Dunkirk* to prevent *Invasions*, which we may well suppose, from the Destruction of their Fleets, *really formidable*, will hardly be tried, and to prevent *Depredations* upon our *Trade* from a *Nation* without a *Navy*, without any *Commerce*, but what will be easily

easily reduced to nothing (if we properly improve the great Successes with which almighty God hath blessed us) and groaning at this very Time under an universal *Bankruptcy*. Without Commerce, can they ever have Money? Without Money, can they fit out Fleets, Transports, flat-bottom Boats, and Privateers, or Seamen to man them, either to invade us, or do any considerable Mischief to our *Trade*? But suppose they should be able to fit out some Privateers, will not a few 20 or 30 Gun Ships be sufficient to protect our Merchant-men, and clear the Sea of those Pirates? And will not a very small Pittance of the Profits accruing to *Britain*, from those very Conquests (if we are wise enough to keep them, which our Author erroneously values so little) defray the Charge of such 20 or 30 Gun Ships as might be employed in the Security of our Trade from Privateers? But I am, Sir, notwithstanding, for the Demolition of *Dunkirk* as a Nest of Pirates, which, in Time, and in no long Time, may be enabled to do infinite Mischief to our Trade: But not for our Author's Reasons, their Inability to hurt us; but because I am jealous that his Propositions to deliver up those most valuable of our Acquisitions (which would infallibly render them again a wealthy and flourishing People, formidable by Land and Sea, and powerful to disturb their Neighbours, and contest with us for *Commerce* and *Dominion* of the Sea) will be the Conditions of the Peace in Prospect: But if we keep those Acquisitions, it can never, without a Miracle, be in the Power of *France* to molest us, or their Neighbours, upon the *Continent*.

For which Reasons it is the true Policy of this Nation to keep *France* in that State of Humility to which she is now reduced. This Policy is justifiable

tifiable by the Law of Nature, by the Law of Nations, and by the Law of God. The Principle of Self-Preservation requires it; Charity towards all *Europe* demands, that the common Enemy and Disturber of the Peace of Nations, whom neither Treaties, Faith, Honour, nor Conscience, can bind; should be disarmed of all offensive Weapons, and confined and fettered within its own Spot, incapable of doing Injury to any. I say, therefore, to keep perfidious *France* humbled, now she is in this State of Humility, is the true Policy of this *Nation*, notwithstanding our reputed Author's great Generosity to set her again upon her Legs; the first Act of his *Generosity* that ever reached my Ears.

What then could induce our Author to insist upon the Demolition of *Dunkirk* as a chief Principle upon which the Security of the Nation depended, with respect to Trade and Invasions, and to defend his Proposition by Absurdity and Self-Contradiction, at the Expence of his own Reputation, as a Man of Sense? Unless it was the Hopes of blinding the Eyes of the Merchant, and the whole Nation, with the Dust of groundless Fears, in order to draw off their *Attention* from his *pernicious Intention*, for the Sake of *H——r*, to restore *France* to her late *prosperous* and *formidable* Condition. I will not entertain a Thought, that our Author could be induced, by a Motive of Compassion for those *forsid Wretches*, who, allured by the Profit of three *per Cent.* at least, more in the *French* than in the *English* Funds, have assisted our inveterate Enemy, with large Sums employed against their native Country. To raise *France* out of her present *Ruins*, in order to revive the Credit of her Funds, for the Indemnity only of such *forsid Miscreants*, who deserve to lose

lose every Farthing so advanced ; would not, I hope, be worth our *Author's* while.—But

—*Quid non Mortalia Pectora cogis
Auri Sacra Fames !*

It is now Time, Sir, to proceed to an Examination of the extravagant Price offered by our Author, for a Peace with *France*.

In Page 29, after he hath assured us, “ that by “ destroying the naval *Force* of *France*, our “ *North American* Conquest cannot be taken “ from us,” and therefore recommends it to you, not to give up any of them, telling you “ that the Nation will have just Reason to complain that we have consented to a *treacherous* “ and *delusive* Peace;” (if, Sir, you give up, what our *Author* is so ridiculously fond of giving up, the *Nation* will have *more Reason* to complain that we have consented to a *treacherous* and *delusive* Peace.) He proceeds, I say, to acquaint us, that in case you give up none of those Conquests then we shall, at the Peace, be left in Possession, not only of the Peninsula of *Acadia*, but all *Nova-Scotia*, according to its old Limits, the Bay of *Fundy*, and the River *St. John*; the important Conquests of *Crown-Point* and *Niagra*, will not be relinquished; and Fort *Du Quesne* and the Country near the *Ohio* will remain ours,” and repeats the Inability of the *French* to take them from us, in these strong and emphatical Words “ the *French* know they cannot get them “ back, and they do not expect that we shall “ give them up at the Peace.”

Then he advises you to keep *Canada*, telling you, “ that our *American* Colonies, if you give it up, will tell you that you have done nothing;” and concludes the Paragraph with this Absurdity.

“ In

" In a Word, you must keep *Canada*, otherways
" you lay the Foundation of another War."

I believe if you give up what our Author proposes, not only our *American Colonies*, but our *Sugar Islands*, and *Great Britain* will tell you,
" That you have done nothing, but consented to a
" treacherous and delusive Peace, and laid the
" Foundation of another War;" by furnishing *France* with the best means of commencing, and carrying it on with Success.

In Page 30 and 31, our *Author*, then to induce us to keep *Canada*, and reconcile us to the giving up the most Advantageous of our Acquisitions, with an *Absurdity* peculiar to himself, informs us, that the *French* were tired of *Canada*, on Account of the Inclemency of its Climate, and the difficult Acces to it; and that they would have abandoned it long ago, as the Trade of it scarce defrayed the Expence of the Colony; and that their only Motive to keep it, was, to extend their Boundaries, at the Expence of the *English*, and open a Communication with *Louisiana* and the Ocean. And then, he again endeavours to alarm us with *French* Infidelity, and gives us to understand, that whatever Care we may take in making the *Treaty*, if we leave the *French* any Footing in *Canada*; the future *Treaty* will be observed no better than former *Treaties* have been; and that *Usurpations* and *Encroachments* will gradually revive; that we shall have expended so many Millions to no Purpose, and spilt the Blood of our Countrymen only to remind us, that though we know how to conquer, we know not how to improve; perhaps the only Opportunity we may ever have, of putting it out of the Power of *France* to violate its *Faith*.

I wish with all my Heart our Author had well considered, whether *his* Propositions for Peace do not tend to put it into the Power of that *perfidious* Nation to violate its *Faith* much more, than leaving it a Footing in *Canada*: For if *his* Propositions are carried into Execution, there will be an absolute Necessity, in order to prevent a Repetition of Usurpations and Encroachments, to keep those great Bodies of Troops in *America* in full Peace, which our famous Politician proposes in the same Page (30) to avoid, by leaving them no Footing in *Canada*.

But of this more anon. Let us at present examine the Absurdity, Inconsistency and Contradiction of this weak Reasoner.

First, then, Sir, I would ask our consummate Politician, how, by not keeping *Canada*, you can lay the *Foundation* of a *future War*? which, according to his Account of the Condition of *France*, appears to me a Thing impossible, unless she is enabled to undertake it, by the *ingenious* Invention of this most *profound* Statesman.

Who is to commence this War? *France*, who, he tells us, is under an Universal Bankruptcy, whose *Fleets* and *Ships of War* are so destroyed, that we may well suppose their Attempts to invade us, are at an End: Tho' he inconsistently urges the Dangers of Invasions, as a Reason for the Demolition of *Dunkirk*; at the very same Time, that by an Universal Bankruptcy and the Destruction of their Fleets and Ships of War, he proves the Impracticability of an Invasion from *France*.

Who is to renew Usurpations and Encroachments in *North America*? *France*, that very *France*, who, by an *Universal Bankruptcy*, and the *De-*
struction of her Fleets and Ships of War, is ren-

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dered unable to alarm us with an Invasion ; is to carry on the destructive Projects against us, in that distant World, at a much *greater* Expence than she would be at in any intended Invasion ; and all this without Ships of War, and without Money or Credit to build them, or pay Seamen, or Land-Forces. And because his Arguments are not inconsistent enough, he says, in a still stronger Manner upon this very Head, " That " *the Naval Force of France is destroyed* ;" but he gives us to understand, that Usurpation and Encroachment will gradually revive. How this can well be, without our Knowledge, while we possess the important Posts of *Crown-Point*, *Niagra*, and *Fort Du Quesne*, &c. I own, I cannot easily conceive. But if the *French* should be hurried on, by the most unaccountable Rashness, to attempt any such Thing ; such an Infraction of the Treaty will justify us in preventing them ; and as the Attempt must be weak, it cannot fail of being smothered in the Smoke of a few *British* Cannon.

It is not, Sir, an Opinion, that *Canada* will be useless to us, that hath led me to say so much upon it, if it was of Use to the *French*, but only to open a Communication with *Louisiana* and the Ocean ; it is certainly of as much Use to us, to curb them, and prevent their Designs, when they shall, by our Author's Propositions, be enabled again to molest us. My Intention was only to expose his Absurdities and Inconsistencies ; and to shew, that *Canada* is not of that prodigious Importance to us which our Author would insinuate ; and that if poor unhappy ever sacrificed *Britain* must cede any Thing to *France*, she had better cede that which our long-headed *Author* has told us is so unhealthy, and

and chargeable to the *French*, than those rich and most important Acquisitions proposed by him, whereby *France* arose to that wide extent of Commerce, and tremendous Height of naval Strength and Glory, which so lately threatened instant Perdition to *Great Britain*, and universal Monarchy to all Nations.

If *France*, by our foolish and unnatural Tenderness for a trifling *contemptible G——n E——te*, should regain, by *Treaty*, those important Possessions, which she cannot recover by *Force*, we may be certain that she will soon lift up her haughty Head, and stretch out her menacing Arm, both against us and her Neighbours on the *Continent*. But, Sir, it is not enough to assert, I ought to prove the fatal Consequences of giving up to *France* those Acquisitions where-with our Author would buy a Peace with *France*; in order thereto, I lay down the following Axioms.

First, that *Commerce* is the true Source of National Strength, Power, and Grandeur.

Secondly, that the late *formidable* Strength, Power, and Grandeur of *France*, were chiefly the Effects of her *Commerce* to, and from those very Places, and to the Priviledge of fishing off the Banks of *Newfoundland*, which our Author would restore to them.

Thirdly, that the Existence of *Great Britain*, as an independant Nation upon *France*, absolutely depends upon keeping in our Hands those Places, and not permitting *France* to fish off the Banks of *Newfoundland*.

Fourthly, that a *Peace* with *France* is unnecessary, as no one truly National Argument can be urged in Favour of such a *Peace*.

First, that Commerce is the true Source of National Strength, Power, and Grandeur. This is so self-evident a Proposition, that I think our *Author* will be ashamed to deny it. Commerce finds Employment for the Poor, by Manufactories at Home; and Employment gives them Bread, and all the Necessaries for a comfortable Subsistence. These again encourage many to marry and encrease the Number of the People; who, for want of such Means of maintaining and bringing up Children, would die single and childless. Besides, that Employment and comfortable Subsistence invite Foreigners to settle in a Nation, and to introduce new Manufacturies. All this is an Augmentation of a Nation's internal Strength. Again, Manufacturies exported supply a trading People with such Necessaries and Conveniencies, as they have not within themselves, by Barter, instead of Specie, and furnisheth them with Bullion to convert into Money. This Commerce becomes the Nursery of Seamen, and the Source of Riches, and enables them to build and man great Fleets, and to raise great Armies, for their own Defence, or the Annoyance of their Neighbours. Thus is their internal Strength still more augmented, and their external grows formidable.

I now proceed to the second and third Axioms I laid down, (*viz.*) That the late *formidable* Strength, Power, and Grandeur of *France*, were chiefly the *Effets* of their *Commerce* to and from those *very Places*, and of their *Privilege of fishing*, that our Author would restore to them.

And that the Existence of *Great Britain*, as an *independant Nation* of *France*, absolutely depends upon keeping in our Hands those *Places*, and not permitting *France* to fish off the *Banks*

Banks of Newfoundland. I chose to join these two Axioms, because the Arguments for either are equally strong for both.

The Trade of France up the Mediterranean to the Levant, and to the East-Indies, which they only shared with us, was insufficient of itself to render her rich and powerful enough to contest for Commerce, and the Dominion of the Sea, with Britain, possessed of a much more extensive Trade. If this be Fact, then from whence sprung up those mighty Fleets which our Author declares to have been really formidable? From any Thing else but Trade they could not possibly spring; and if the abovementioned Branches of Trade were inadequate to that End, then these really formidable Fleets must have sprung from her Sugar Plantations, her Forts and Settlements on the Coast of Africa, and the Newfoundland Fishery alone. For, according to our Author's Account, she reaped little Commercial Advantage from North America, Canada (and I say consequently Crown-Point, Niagra, and Fort Du Quesne) being of little more Use to her than to open a Communication with Louisiana and the Ocean, in order to distress us, and, to be sure, with a View to divest us intirely of our Colonies.

How, or in what Manner the Plantations of France, her Forts and Settlements on the Coast of Africa, and the Newfoundland Fishery, have contributed to her Strength, Naval Power, and Grandeur, will farther appear, when we consider the profound Wisdom of our Author's Conditions of the ensuing Peace, which are to give them up those very Things that raised her to that prosperous State of internal and external Strength, Power, and Grandeur, which so lately enabled her to contest with us for Commerce and Dominion

minion of the Sea, and which must necessarily enable her to do it again, if she ever recovers these Advantages through our Folly.

Our Author's first Proposition, with respect to American Concessions, is concerning *Cape Breton*. He tells us, " That tho' *Louisbourg* be of infinite Service to the *French*, it can be of little or no Use to *England*, if *Canada* be left to us. It is of Consequence to *France*, as a Retreat to their Ships fishing on the neighbouring Banks of *Newfoundland*, and as a Security to the Entrance of the *Gulph of St. Lawrence*. But the Possession of *Newfoundland* itself makes *Louisbourg* of no Utility in the former Respect; and *Hallifax*, where we have a good Harbour, answers very nearly the latter Purpose. Upon this View, therefore, may we not hope and expect, that the Necessity of garrisoning of *Louisbourg*, having ended with the Conquest of *Quebec*, its Fate will be determined, without troubling the *French* Plenipotentiaries?" And then he advises the total *Demolition* of it, previous to a Congress.

Let us now examine the admirable Reasons of our Author for the Demolition of *Louisbourg*.

First, he grants the Harbour and Fortifications of *Louisbourg* to be of infinite Service to *France*, but denies them to be so, if *Canada* be left to us.

To prove this, he informs us, that the infinite Service it was of to the former, was owing to the Security it afforded to the Entrance of the *Gulph of St. Lawrence*; and to prove the little or no Utility of them to *England*, he urges our Possession of *Canada*, and the Conquest of *Quebec*.

France, I say, was in Possession of Both, and while she was, *Louisbourg undemolished*, was of infinite Service to her, as a Security to the Entrance of the *Gulph of St. Lawrence*. This our Author owns.

owns. *England*, I say, is now in Possession of both. *Ergo*, *Louisbourg* undemolished, is of infinite Service to *England*, as a Security to the Entrance of the *Gulph* of St. Lawrence. For if under those Circumstances it was of infinite Service to the *one*, it must, by a Parity of Reason, necessarily follow, that it is so to the *other*, under the like Circumstances.

But, Sir, I would ask our *Author*, of what Use, as a Security to the *Gulph* of St. Lawrence, *Louisbourg* could be to *France*, except to prevent *England* from conveying a *Land* and *Naval* Force up that River, to dislodge the *French* from their Settlements upon the Back of our Colonies, from whence they could, and did annoy them, and hoped, one Day or other, to take them from us?

And if it was of no other Use to *France* than this, I would ask him, if *Louisbourg* is not of equal Use to *us* for the Preservation of those important Settlements which we at this Day possess, by the Wisdom, Integrity, and Resolution of your *Counsels*, suggested and directed by the infinite Goodness and Power of our most gracious and protecting God, and carried into Execution by that most able General, that inviolable Friend to Liberty and his Country, the ever-much to be lamented *Wolfe*; and other as wise, prudent, and valiant Generals and Admirals, Land and Sea-Officers (seconded by Men no less valiant than their Commanders) as any Nation, through the whole Course of Time, hath produced.

But now, Sir, if you please, we will return to the Absurdity and Inconsistency of our Author upon the Head of *Louisbourg*.

"The Possession of *Newfoundland*," says he, "makes *Louisbourg* of no Utility to the *English* in the former Respect :" That is, as a Retreat for

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Ships fishing, and, I suppose, he means too, with respect of the Convenience of fishing; so far our Author may be right. "But then," says he, "and *Hallifax*, where we have a good Harbour, answers very nearly the latter Purpose." That is, as a Security to the *Gulph* of St. Lawrence. Here he confesses, in Effect, *Louisbourg* to be better situated for that Purpose than *Hallifax*; for if it only answers very nearly that Purpose, it certainly cannot answer it quite so well; and if it doth not, in the Name of Wonder, what could induce our Author to advise you, Sir, to abandon a Place of the greatest Security, for one which he himself owns to be of less? If ever the *French* attempt, by Force of Arms, to recover their Settlements up that Channel, the nearer our Guard upon them is the better upon all Accounts, but more especially, because, most probably, they will make their Attempt in the foggy Season, which, as they are more favourable to such a Design, so the Proximity of *Louisbourg* is more likely to be attended with a Discovery of it than *Hallifax*, more remote.

But here our Author again falls into his old favourite Absurdity and Inconsistency of guarding against *Dangers*, which he proves from the Imbecility of *France*, through an universal *Bankruptcy*, and the *Destruction* of their Fleets and *Naval Force*, can hardly ever happen.

But as I am convinced that *France*, although she should be reduced to the low Ebb this Gentleman describes her to be, will, if his fatal Scheme succeeds, rise again out of her *Ruins*: And therefore I cannot help wishing, that *Louisbourg*, our nearest, and consequently our best Security against her Perfidy, may be preserved undemolished and in its full Strength.

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In the same Page (32) he wishes “ the Right given to the *French*, by the 13th Article of the same Peace ;” that is, the Peace of *Utrecht*, “ to fish in some Parts of those Seas, may be continued, as the Refusal of it would be rather unreason-able.”

Wrong-headed Man ! Our *Ministers* at the Peace of *Utrecht*, unfortunately ceded to *France*, the most *beneficial* Right they could well give. They gave her the *best Nursery* for *Seamen* upon the whole *Globe*; they gave her *Employment* for as many of her *Farmers* and *Peasants* as were requisite to supply the *great Number* of *Sailors* em-ployed in, and nursed up by that *Fishery*, with *Food*; for as many *Manufacturers* as could supply them with *Raiment*; and for as many *Artificers* in *Ship-Building*, and *Net-making*, as so great a *Trade* as the fishing in those Seas required ; and, lastly, by ceding the Right of fishing in those Seas to *France*, they gave her a clear *annual Income* in *Bullion* and *Specie*, of at least 100,000*l. Sterling*, to enable her to build *Ships of War* and *Fleets really formidable*, to be manned with *Sea-men* bred in that very *Nursery*; and which have, by that *ungrateful* and *perfidious Nation*, been em-ployed against us, her credulous and foolish Do-nors.

Thus, has the Right of fishing in those Seas been one of the principal Sources, both of the *internal* and *external Power* of *France*, exposing *Britain* to the Hazard of the greatest Mischiefs from their Fleets, *really formidable*. And yet our *Author*, an *Englishman born*, wishes this Power of *Mischief* again in the Hands of that very *Nation* whose *Perfidy* and *Breaches of Faith*, he has so strongly pointed out, and warned us against.

What one single Argument doth he offer in Support of a Measure so *weak* and *pernicious*? All he urges for it is, his own erroneous, injudicious Opinion, that the Refusal of a Right to fish in some Parts of those Seas, would be rather unreasonable. But, Sir, is his bare Opinion, unsupported by the least Shadow of Reason, to prevail in a Matter of such infinite Consequence to this Country, against Reason, Facts, and Experience? If his *wild* Imagination suggests to him, that because our *Ministers*, at the Peace of *Utrecht*, granted this Right to *France*, it would therefore be *unreasonable* not to grant it now; and if he means to convey this as a *Reason*, it amounts to no more than, that, because the then *Ministers* did a foolish and bad Thing, the present ought to do the same; and that because those *Pilots* of the *Vessel* of State steered her upon a Rock, and had well nigh dashed her to Pieces, you ought now to run her upon that very Rock which had liked to have proved fatal. What does so weak an Argument serve to prove more, but, that the first Commission of Folly and Wickedness, authenticates all subsequent Commissions of either? For if, in one Instance, a Folly or Crime becomes right, because it has been once committed; all Follies and Crimes, upon that Principle, become right too; and Folly and Vice will then give Sanction to themselves, and will soon banish from the World all Wisdom and Virtue.

But tho' fishing off the Banks of *Newfoundland* be of this *infinite Service* to *France*, and tho' the keeping that Right to ourselves must be attended with those immense Advantages to us above-enumerated, it is, it seems, far beneath our *Author's* Liberality to offer so low a Price for the Security of foreign Possessions, which, like

an unfathomable Abyss, hath swallowed up the Wealth and Blood of the Kingdom, and *very nearly* reduced this Nation to that *universal Bankruptcy*, which at this Time depresses our inveterate and irreconcileable Enemy. No, he must give up, prodigally give up to first aggressing *France*, all the *most beneficial* Conquests obtained by an immense Profusion of the Treasure, and a *vast* Effusion of the Blood of his native Country. *Senegal* and *Goree*, in *Africa*, and *Guadaloupe*, in the *West-Indies*, all of them *Nurseries* for *French* Seamen, tho', not indeed so great *Nurseries* as the *Newfoundland* Fishery; but yet all of them *greater Sources* of Home Manufacturies, and of Bullion, both Gold and Silver. And all these *vast* Sources of the *Naval Power* of *France* must be sacrificed to the un-national End of securing *H——r*.

Did this Author ever *consider* how great an Encouragement to the Agriculture of *France*, the feeding so many Seamen is, as are employed in the Trade to those Places? Did he ever *consider* how great Encouragement to the Agriculture of *France*, the feeding so many Manufacturers and Artificers is, as earn their Bread by cloathing those Seamen, and building Merchant-ships to carry on that Trade? Did he ever *consider* how great an Encouragement to the Manufacturers of *France*, is the exceeding large Demand for her Manufacturies, with which she purchases Gums, Furs, Ivory, Elephants Teeth, Gold Dust, and Negroes, necessary to raise Sugar and Indigo, &c. in *Guadaloupe*; and with which those Negroes, and all the Merchants and Planters of that Island, are annually cloathed? Did he ever *consider* how great an Encouragement the building so many Merchant-men, and so many Ships of War, and

Fleets, *really formidable*, the natural Effects of their Trade to those Places, is to the Artificers of *France*? Lastly, Did he ever *consider* the prodigious Sums of Money brought into *France* by those most important Branches of her Trade? for besides the Profits upon the Gums, Furs, Ivory, Elephants Teeth, Gold Dust, and Negroes, sold to *New Spain* from *Africa*, the *clear Gain* arising to that Nation, from the Sugars imported into *Europe*, from *Guadaloupe*, exclusive of its other Products, cannot be computed at less than 400,000*l. per Annum*, which with 100,000*l. per Annum*, *clear Profits* arising from the Fishery, is an Annual Increase to *France*, in *Specie or Bullion*, to the Amount of, at least, 500,000*l. per Annum*. The *Author* of the *Remarks* upon the Letter before me, has computed the Article of Sugars only at 300,000*l.* a Year. His Computation, probably, is more exact than mine, as he may have more maturely considered it. My Valuation being made only upon the general credited Report, that the Importation of Sugars to *Europe* from *Guadaloupe*, is 40,000 Hogsheads; which if we reckon but at 10*l. per Hogshead*, is 400,000*l.* but, that I may not seem to exaggerate the Matter, let us take this Gentleman's Estimate of 300,000*l.* a Year for Sugars exported from *Guadaloupe*, and sold for *ready Money* by the *French* to Foreigners, and the clear Profits to them with those of the Fishery, will still be an annual Increase of Riches to *France*, of 400,000*l. per Annum*, exclusive of the Profits on Indigo, Cotton, and Coffee. But our *Author* tells us we have Sugars *enough* from our own Plantations. For what? To supply our own Consumption; not for an Exportation sufficient to supply that of Foreigners, which is the *only Consumption* that brings

brings in *Bullion*; for if, according to the Information of the *Author* of the Remarks, the *French* export 80,000 Hogsheads of *Sugar*, and we never exported more than 18,580, then it follows, that if *England* ingrossed the whole foreign Consumption of that Commodity, the Product of our Islands is too little to supply both the Home and Foreign Consumption, by 61,480 Hogsheads, *two Thirds* whereof *England* will, by the Possession of *Guadaloupe*, supply foreign Markets with, and return to this Nation at least 300,000*l.* yearly, in Bullion or Money, besides giving Employment to near 3000 Seamen.

Most of the great Advantages accruing to *France* in all these Respects, from *Senegal* and *Go-ree*, and which, by detaining them in our Hands, will accrue to *England*, I have already mentioned, but not all; and if I differ in Opinion with the Author of the Remarks, I hope he will pardon me. I shall give my Reasons why I think we ought to keep them, and why restoring them to our *perfidious* Enemy, will be attended with *fatal* Consequences; and then you, Sir, and the Public, will determine upon the Validity of them.

First, we may justly keep them by the Right of Conquest, as they are Acquisitions from a treacherous, *faithless*, and *perfidious* Foe; who, in *Breach of Treaty*, was the *first* Aggressor, invading our undoubted Rights and Possessions not only with their own Forces, but with *American* Savages, by whose merciless Hands, Rivers of our Fellow-Subjects Blood have been shed; by the most cruel and *barbarous*, *inhuman*, and *t tormenting* Methods; a most unchristian Action of the most Christian King!

No Nation can plead a Right to injure, much less to invade another, and seize its Possessions without first receiving an Injury. Whatever Nation doth so, is guilty of a Violation of the Law of Nature, the Law of Nations, and the Law of God; all which unite in prohibiting all Manner of Injustice and Violence, and give an undoubted Right to the Nation unjustly attacked; not only to defend itself and its Possessions, but also to make Reprisals upon the Territories and Possessions of the offending Party, so far as it is necessary, both to reimburse the Charges of such a *defensive* War, and to reduce the *aggressing* Enemy to such a State of Imbecility, as will effectually prevent him from attempting the like Injuries for the future. And if the Injured see it necessary for Self-Preservation, he may doubtless justify the Extirpation of the offending Party, by all the foregoing Laws of Nature, of Nations, and of God.

If this be so, and I think no one can deny it, then surely Britain may justly detain all the Conquests she has made upon the Possessions of France, in Africa, and the West-Indies, which were not ours before the present War, as well as those in North America, which were ours by the Treaty of Utrecht, or by any other rightful Claim, tho' clandestinely usurped by treacherous France, in Breach of Treaty, and under the ever shameful Connivance of a British Administration, most scandalously bent upon H——n and Continental Projects, and inattentive to the Interests of their own Country; not daring to assert her undoubted Rights, lest their Duty to the Land that gave them Being, should interfere with G——n Views.

France then, I say, is under all those Circumstances, just now mentioned, which intitle us to detain whatever we, in consequence of Self-Defence, have taken from her.

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We first offered *France* no Injury, yet *France* most flagrantly and infamously, in Violation of Treaties and all *Faith*, invaded and ravaged our *American Colonies*, wantonly and barbarously butchering our *Fellow Subjects* by the Hands of *Savage Indians*, to glut the *cruel Eyes* of more *Savage Frenchmen*.

To defend ourselves from these dreadful Calamities, and to save *North America*, we were obliged to undertake a *most* bloody and expensive War, with the heavy Load of *H—r* upon our Backs.

Are we then, Sir, for all our Sufferings, to receive from *France*, who Commenced this *unjust War* against us, harmless and inoffensive, no Reparation? Shall no Attone ment be made to the Manes of glorious *Wolfe*, who, in the Agonies of Death, greatly conquered the *Enemies of Britain*, and with his Blood, nobly sealed the Deliverance of his Country; expiring with Victory in his Hand? Shall no Attone ment be made to the Manes of those many valiant Officers and private Men, who in the same glorious Cause, fell fighting under the *Banner* of that mighty Hero? Shall no Compensation be made for the Wounds of brave and magnanimous *Monckton*, and others? None for the Dangers run, by the Youthful, valiant, Noble *Townsend*, affluent in his Fortune, and Heir to a Peerage; who, scorning the *Pleasures* of Ease and Luxury, when the *Calamities* of his Country called him forth, flew to her Aid, exposing himself to all the Hazards of Sea and War, in an inhospitable Climate, and on a distant Shore? Oh ye *Britons*! can there possibly be amongst you a Wretch so degenerate, as even to suggest, that *Britain* shall make Peace without ample Reparation for so great an Effusion of Blood, and
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the Expence of upwards of forty Millions for her Defence ; and that *France* shall escape unpunished, after so many, the *most* cruel, enormous, monstrous, and horrible Outrages, highly aggravated by so long a Train of the most melancholy Circumstances.

If, Sir, by all the foregoing Laws, an *injured* Nation has a *Right* to Reparation, we *most* certainly have ; for *no* Nation was ever *more unjustly* attacked, nor *more inhumanly* treated by an insulting and implacable Enemy, than this Nation hath been. And if we are intitled to Reparation, from whence are we to seek it ? From *Canada*, it cannot come ;—our *Author* assures us, that it scarcely defrays the Expence of the Colony.—From *France* itself, it cannot come ; for he likewise assures us, that *France* is under an *Universal Bankruptcy*.—From whence, then, can we seek it ? Most certainly from *Senegal*, *Goree* and *Guadaloupe*. For by the continued Possession thereof, we may, in a good Measure, repair the Damages we have unjustly sustained, from the iniquitous Hand of *France* ; and shall we restore to *such* an Enemy, the *only* Sources we have of Reparation ? No, Sir ; all these *important* Acquisitions are ours.—They are ours by the Right of Conquest, over an *unjust*, *insulting* and *tyrannical* Foe, unprovoked by *us*. “ The *French* know they cannot get them back ; ” and there can be no *National Reason* why we should restore them.

If by the foregoing Laws an injured Nation has a *Right* to provide for its own future Security, by reducing the *Aggressor* to such a State of *Imbecility*, as will for *ever* put it out of his Power to disturb its Repose, we certainly must have the same *Right*, common to all other Nations. And no People ever had Reasons equally cogent with ours to exercise this *Right* towards *France*. She
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is not only our *most Powerful* but our *natural* and *irreconcileable* Enemy, who hath constantly watched and seized every Opportunity, to attempt our Destruction: and that she is the *most faithless, dishonest, treacherous, perfidious* Nation upon Earth; and therefore upon *no Account* to be trusted with offensive Weapons: even our Author (poor Reasoner as he is) has beyond all Contradiction proved, by indisputable Facts, plainly manifesting the *detestable Violation* of her Faith, by most *impious* and *scandalous* Infractions of all the Treaties she ever entered into with this Nation. Her *restless Ambition*, which has prompted, and ever will prompt her to aspire at *Universal Monarchy*, and *Thralldom* of all Mankind, render it still *more necessary*, and consequently *more justifiable* for us to defeat her wicked Projects; since *Britain* must (in the Nature of Things) be the *first Victim* to her insatiable Pride, and the *Corner Stone* of her long aimed at *universal Dominion*. The many fruitless Efforts made by *France* to accomplish it, have taught her, the utter impracticability of Success, without a sufficiency of Riches, which are the Sinews of War. Riches, immense Riches only can maintain great Armaments by Sea and Land, adequate to the Boldness of her Object. *Commerce* is the *sole* Fountain from whence *France* can draw those immense Riches. In order therefore to attain *Universal Monarchy*, she has attempted *Universal Commerce*; and before the present War, had wormed us out of the Sugar Trade in Foreign Markets, out of a great Part of the *Mediterranean* and *Levant* Trades, and equally shared with us that to the *East-Indies*. But this was not sufficient. To acquire the *Empire* of the World, required the *Wealth* of the World; and to acquire this, it was necessary to engross

the *whole* Commerce of the World. Next to *France*, *Britain* enjoyed the greatest share of Trade, and consequently, was the greatest Obstacle to the Execution of her Designs. It became therefore necessary, to divest her of her Commerce. Unacquainted, Sir, with your perfect Integrity and great Abilities, and depending greatly on the former Supineness and Ignorance of the *British* Ministry, and *their total* Attention to the *aggrandizing* of *H——r*, which permitted her in Time of Peace to seize and fortify the Places in *North America*, ceded to us at the Peace of *Utrecht*; she ventured to Attack us again there, not doubting, if she could expel us from our Colonies, which are the strongest of our Possessions, that our Plantations would fall an easy Prey to her; but lest she should be baffled in *America*, and Reprisals be made, which she judged might be barely possible, she thought proper to provide against the Possibility; and entering into an unnatural Alliance with the House of *Austria*, marched large Armies into *Germany* that she might *treat of Peace with H——r in her Hands*. From what has been said we must expect that the restless Spirit of *France*, driving her on continually to Universal Monarchy, will never suffer *Britain* to remain quiet and in Safety; as she is the *principal* Obstacle in the Way of her Scheme to enslave her Neighbours; and therefore, that we must be the *first* Victim offered to her boundless Ambition. From whence we ought to learn, that not only our Tranquillity, but our very Existence, as a Nation absolutely depends upon our wresting from *France* every Weapon of Mischief, and binding her Hand and Foot, now she is (through the ever most gratefully to be remembered goodness of Almighty God)

God) in this low Condition. And this can be done no other Way than by turning the Tables upon her, and by intirely *stripping* her of her *Commerce*, as she intended to *strip* us of ours. To effect this, it is *absolutely* necessary to keep *all* that we have taken from her. To keep *Guadalupe* is no more than *clipping* her Wings, which will soon grow up, and enable this Bird of Prey to soar again, and souse upon her Game. If we will be *safe*, we must *pinion* her down to her *own* Soil, so effectually as to render her evermore incapable of flying. *Guadalupe* without *Senegal* and *Goree* is *nothing* else than *clipping* her Wings for the present. If we would *pinion* her, we *must* keep *Senegal* and *Goree*; and if we are wise enough to keep them, as well as *Guadalupe*, in the Course of a few Years her *Trade* will entirely decay; and the *Quiet* and *Security* not only of *Britain*, but of all *Europe*, will be the happy and blessed Consequences of that intire Decay; because her *Riches* and *Naval Power* will of Course fall with her *Commerce*.

Which brings me, as I promised, to give my Reasons why giving up *Senegal* or *Goree* would be of *dangerous* Consequence to this Country.

It would prevent that *total* Period to the *French* *Commerce*, which is so necessary to our own Repose and Safety.

For *Senegal* and *Goree* are so absolutely necessary to the *French*, that the *chiefest* and *best* Branches of their *Commerce* cannot subsist without them. They cannot manufacture their *Sugars* without *Negroes*, and *Negroes* they cannot have, but from *Africa*; so that by our keeping *Senegal* and *Goree*, *all* their other Plantations must dwindle away to nothing. In consequence of which, one great Channel of *French* Bullion be-

ing stopped, it will naturally flow to *Britain*. And by keeping those most useful Places, we shall cut off that other plentiful Spring of Riches which lately run into the *French* Coffers, by the Profits arising from Gums, Furs, Ivory, Elephants Teeth, Gold Dust, and the Sale of Negroes to *New Spain*; all which will come to this Country. Decrease of Riches to the *French*, will necessarily be attended, not only with a Decrease of their Manufacturies taken off by these Branches of Commerce, but also with a Decrease of their Seamen, Shipping and Naval Power employed in it; in proportion to which Decrease, in all Respects, *Britain* must unavoidably Increase.

I hope the foregoing Reasons may be sufficient to convince every Lover of his Country, that *France*, in the greatest Measure, owes the *vast* Augmentation of her *Riches*, and *formidable Naval* Power, to the Possession of these very *Commercial* Sources, which our Author would restore to them. But the *inevitable fatal* Consequences to *Britain*, of such a Restitution (especially of *Senegal* and *Goree*) will more fully appear from what follows; which will oblige us to recollect, in some Degree, the Substance of the foregoing Reasons; a Species of Tautology, I hope, allowable upon so interesting a Point as that we are treating.

Let us then recollect, that *France* became a *rich* Nation, and a *great* and *formidable Naval* Power, not merely by her *Sugar Islands*, but by the Addition of *Senegal* and *Goree*; which besides the immense Treasure they brought in by the aforementioned Commodities of Gums, &c. supplied her with Negroes sufficient to raise not only Sugars enough for her Home, but also Foreign Consumption; which amounts, according to the

Author

Author of the Remarks Computation, to 80,000 Hogsheads for foreign Markets; and at the Rate of 10*l.* per Hogshead, is a clear Profit of 800,000*l.* per Annum to *France*: Which Profit could not accrue to her, without *Negroes* brought from her Settlements upon the Coast of *Africa*; and this at a Time when the same *Author* assures us, that from 18,580 Hogsheads, our Demand Abroad, is sunk to little or nothing. Let us then reflect, that the *Riches* and *Naval Power* of a Nation depend *chiefly* upon *foreign Consumption*, as it brings in Money or Bullion, which is much the same, and is a *Nursery* for Seamen. Let us reflect, that if this be so, the Nation that has the greatest *foreign Consumption*, will always be the *richest*, have the *most* Seamen, and be the *greatest Naval Power*. Let us reflect, that *France* and *we* sharing *equally* (we will suppose all other Branches of Trade) the *West-India* and *African Traders* from *Senegal* and *Goree*, must be the Branches of Commerce, which chiefly turn the Ballance of Trade, meaning with respect to Bullion and Naval Power, against us, to the Amount of (if we allow upon the Sale of *Negroes* to *New Spain*, and the other Commodities before-mentioned, *in favour of France*, only 100,000*l.* yearly) no less than 900,000*l.* per Annum more than it is in favour of *Britain*; and all arising from her *Plantations*, *Senegal*, and *Goree*; without which *two last* their *Plantations* cannot possibly be carried on for Want of *Negroes*. And if we throw the *Newfoundland Fishery* into the Account, which is estimated at 100,000*l.* per Annum, then the Ballance of Trade in favour of *France* against *Britain*, is at least 1,000,000*l.* per Annum, under the additional Advantage of the best *Nursery* for Seamen upon the Face of the Globe.

Globe. And so quick hath been the *Growth* of our *irreconcileable* Enemy in *Riches* and *Naval Power* from those superior Profits of Trade, carried on to foreign Markets, in the fore-mentioned Commodities, that she was from the Peace of *Utrecht*, to the Commencement of the present War, enabled to build *formidable Fleets*, and raise upwards of 40,000 Seamen to man them; for if we consider that we have about 20,000 of their Sailors Prisoners now in *England*, and the Number employed in manning twenty-one Ships of War, sunk and dispersed, not to include those Sailors taken and killed by the brave Admiral *Hawke* and Captain *Elliot*, reckoning the *last* to be of the above Number of *French* Prisoners, and the Sailors in *Bompart's* Squadron, and in the other *East* and *West-India* Squadrons, and those who fell in Engagements with single Ships of ours, we cannot well compute all these at so few as 20,000 more. So that we may cry out with the Psalmist. " If the *LORD* himself had not been on our Side, now may Israel say; if the Lord himself had not been on our Side, when Men rose up against us, they had swallowed us quick, when they were so wrathfully displeased at us."

This was our *bazardous* State when this War commenced; a State which can be imputed to nothing else, but to an Increase of Wealth made upon their foreign Trade; which Gain arose, in a great Measure, from the *Newfoundland Fishery*, and from their *Sugar Islands*, together with *Senegal* and *Goree*, without which (as I said before) their *Sugar Islands* could not have been cultivated: Which proves beyond Dispute, that those Places, now in our Hands, are of the *highest Consequence to Britain*, as they are the great Foundations

tions of the *immense Riches*, and *formidable Naval Power* of perfidious, *never to be trusted France*.

Further, let us reflect how much the *Security* of our *own Settlements* in *Africa* depend upon our keeping Possession of *Senegal* and *Goree*. When *France* has sufficiently recovered her Strength (by our Author's Scheme) we may reasonably expect a Revival of her *Usurpations* and *Encroachments* upon us. And they will probably learn from the rough Reception they have met with in *North America*, the Policy of attacking us in the weakest Part, which is in *Africa*, and will most likely take the Opportunity of a Time of Peace, gradually to send (as they have before practised to *North America*) to *Senegal* and *Goree*, a Force able to seize our Settlements, and thereby *destroy* our *Plantations* by cutting off our Market for *Negroes*, and not only to *destroy them*, but also our *North American Colonies*, which are cultivated by *Negroes*, and can subsist without them little better than our *Sugar Islands*.

What I have said upon this Head, I flatter myself is sufficient to support both the second and third Axioms I laid down (*viz.*) that the *formidable Strength*, *Power*, and *Grandeur* of *France*, were chiefly the *Effects* of her *Commerce* to and from those Places, and of the Privilege of fishing off the Banks of *Newfoundland*; which our Author would restore to them.

And that the Existence of *Great Britain*, as an *independant Nation* of *France*, absolutely depends upon keeping in our Hands those Places, and not permitting *France* to fish off the Banks of *Newfoundland*.

I flatter myself likewise that what I have said upon this Head, is enough to prove what I early in these Sheets asserted, (*viz.*) that our Author's

Propositions tend to the Dishonour, Distress and Ruin of his *native Country*, by putting it into the Power of *France* to recover her almost lost Trade and humbled Naval Strength, to face again our Fleets, to break the Treaty, and even to re-take from *us* the *poor Remainder*, the *Author* is pleased to leave *us*, of those useful Acquisitions, which by your means, Sir, we have so gloriously taken from her; and which *poor Remainder* he erroneously represents to be more *beneficial to Britain*; than those *real and more solid Advantages* with which he proposes to purchase a Peace with *France*, for the Security of *H——r*. And that the Security and Preservation of that inconsiderable Spot is his great Object, will presently appear, when I speak more particularly upon that Head.

But, Sir, I can neither suffer myself to proceed to this, nor to the fourth Axiom I laid down, before I have farther exposed the gross Absurdity of our Author, upon *Senegal and Goree*.

In Page 33, after manifesting his Ignorance in the *Sugar Trade*, by slighting *Guadaloupe*, he exposes his Absurdity no less with Respect to *Senegal and Goree*. “Though *Senegal and Goree*,” says he, “are of *real Importance* in the *Slave and Gum Trades*.” By these Words he absolutely allows, that in these Particulars they are of *real Importance*; for our *Logician* mentions no other Instances of their *real Importance*; therefore we may suppose him either *ignorant* of all those other Advantages which render them of *real Importance*, or else that he suppressed them, as Reasons prevalent with the Nation to keep them. But we must judge of our Author by the Words of his Letter, which are certainly most absurd and inconsistent. “*Senegal and Goree are of real Importance*

portance in the Slave and Gum Trades," but they are not of real Importance; Why? because, says he, "our own African Settlements have hitherto supplied us with Slaves sufficient for our American Purposes." If this be so, then the *real Importance* of Senegal and Goree, in the Slave Trade, falls to the Ground, by our Author's last and contradictory Assertion. So that his Logic amounts to this. *Senegal and Goree* are of *real Importance* to the Slave Trade, and they are *not of real Importance* to the Slave Trade, for we have Slaves enough without them.

"And the Trade for Gum," says he, "is perhaps not of Consequence enough to make us amends for the Annual Mortality, which we already lament of our brave Countrymen to guard our African Conquests." Excellent Logic again! *Senegal and Goree* are of *real Importance*, in the Gum Trade, but they are not of Consequence enough to make us amends for the Annual Mortality of our brave Countrymen to guard them. Can any Thing be more absurd and contradictory than this last Assertion, with respect to the Gum Trade, by which his Affirmation of the *real Importance* of those Places is denied by himself? So that his Logic, with respect to the *Gum* Trade, like that with respect to the *Slave* Trade, amounts to this. *Senegal and Goree* are of *real Importance* to the *Gum* Trade, and they are *not of real Importance* to the *Gum* Trade.

All this absurd inconsistent contradictory Stuff, is contained in no more than eight or nine Lines. Here then, Sir, we have *multum in parvo*, and our Author shews himself to be no less a Rhetorician than a Logician.

From his incomprehensible Jargon it is impossible to collect, whether he *really* thinks *Senegal*

and *Goree* of *real Importance* or not; or whether his extensive Genius for Absurdity, Inconsistency and Contradiction, does enable him to believe both the Contradictions. That they are of *real Importance*, and that they are *not* of *real Importance*. But in Case he should be wiser than from his Letter, we have Reason to think him, and he should only *really* believe, that *Senegal* and *Goree* are of *real Importance* to the *Slave* and *Gum* Trades; I would ask this *inconceivable* Reasoner, why he would give up to our Enemy, Places of that *real Importance*? If he answers, to save the *Lives* of his *brave* Countrymen. I would then ask him, If he has such a tender Concern for his brave Countrymen, as not to expose their Lives in Defence of Places, of *real Importance*, which he allows them to be, and which I have shewn to be so, to the *Riches*, *Safety*, and very *Existence* of *Britain*; I say, I ask him how it then comes to pass, that he is so extremely lavish of their Blood, in Defence of *H——r*, a petty *German* Province; which can never be of *real Importance* to *Britain*, in the Point of Commerce or any pecuniary Advantage?

And here, Sir, permit me to observe a little upon the Reasons assigned for parting with some of the best and most necessary of our Acquisitions.

It hath been urged that by keeping all we have got, the great Access of Riches and Naval Power thus accruing to us, will excite the Jealousy of, and draw upon us all the other States of *Europe*. I would ask those who are of this Opinion, whether they think, that *France*, if she had taken from us *Jamaica*, or all our *Sugar Islands*, and our *Settlements* in *Africa*, and had intirely driven us out of *North America*, would have been pre-

prevailed upon to have relinquished the least valuable of those Acquisitions, by a Chimerical Apprehension of raising the Jealousy of, and drawing upon her all the States of *Europe*? *France*, whose great and constant Object of *Universal Monarchy*; the Accomplishment of which, must be attended with the Subversion of every *European State*, so circumstanced, could not but excite the *Fears* and *Jealousies* of all those States; and therefore, would have more Cause for such an Apprehension than *Great Britain*, who has no such superb View, and whose truest Interest it is, to have no Dominion upon the Continent of *Europe*; but to confine herself peaceably within her own Shores, contented with and thankful for, the mighty and innumerable Blessings showered down upon her, from the bountiful Hand of her most merciful and all saving God.

France, Sir, thus fortified by Commerce, Increase of People, Riches, and Naval Power, would doubtless, have detained *all* her Acquisitions, laughing at all such *Jealousies*, and fearless of the *united Attacks* of the Nations surrounding her, well knowing herself *secure* against their whole combined Forces, from her own superior and natural Strength.

If then, Sir, *France*, who is more exposed than *Britain*, by her Situation upon the Continent, having great populous and warlike Nations upon her Back, would not have been influenced by the *Jealousies* of all the States of *Europe*, to relinquish to *us*, the *least* valuable of her Acquisitions, why should *we* be prevailed on to relinquish to her the *most* valuable of *ours*?

Fortified as we are, by the additional Strength of the *Fishery*, *Guadaloupe*, *Senegal* and *Goree*, we can have no more Reason to fear the Effects of the

Jealousies of all *Europe*, than *France* would have with all our *American* and *African* Possessions in her Hands ; nor indeed so much. We have no Neighbour upon our Backs to invade us : The Ocean is a Wall of Defence all around us : No Power but a *Naval* can ever think of molesting us. The only *Naval* Powers are *Spain* and *Holland*, whose united Force being greatly inferior to ours, their Jealousies would not be sufficient Objects of Fear, to induce us to give up *Senegal* and *Goree* ; that will, if *France* is saucy, enable us to render all her Plantations *useless*, by cutting off the *Negroe* Market, which may in her Hands, furnish her with an Opportunity, that we may be sure, she will not lose, of playing the same Game upon us.

But, Sir, to suggest the *Jealousies* of the several States of *Europe* upon Account of our Augmentation, is a trifling and groundless Conjecture ; serving only to render the Nation easy under the Restitution to *France*, of those Weapons, wherewith she so lately attempted to cut our Throats ; and wherewith she will most certainly one Day do it, if they are again trusted in her Hands : and all this, for no other End, but to save *H——r* ; which, if the *French* take, and could, and would dig it out of the *Earth*, they would do *Britain* the greatest Service possible, and make her ample amends for all past Injuries, and for all the Interruptions they have given to her Peace and Prosperity.

From whence can the Jealousy of any *one* Power arise ? From *Spain* it cannot. The Interest of that Kingdom is by mutual Commerce so closely united with us, that “*Peace with England, and War with all the World besides,*” is a Proverb in the Mouth of every *Spaniard* ; nor can I think the two Nations can be well drawn into a War with one another, it being equally detrimental to both ; unless it be in consequence of Continental Quarrels.

From

From *Holland* this Jealousy can hardly arise; the Power that first erected her into a State, and hath more than once raised her from the lowest State and Condition, to what she now is, is still necessary to preserve her such. *Britain* may see her own Interest in protecting *Holland* against *France*, her most dangerous Enemy, but can have none in depressing her. Her whole Force cannot defend her from the ravenous Jaws of all-devouring *France*, without some superior Naval Force. *Holland* herself can never be that Force, and therefore would doubtless, if she had Virtue sufficient to consider her own Interest, be glad to see it in the Hands of *Britain*, her *old natural Ally*, with whom, besides all this, she is connected by a reciprocal Commerce, and an immense Share of Property vested in our Funds: All which must perish in the Wreck of *Britain*, who in the End will be infallibly crushed, if we restore to *France* what we have taken from her.

Both *Spain* and *Holland* know well, that their Perdition will next follow ours. They therefore cannot but rejoice to see *France* totally disarmed, and her Weapons in the Hands of *Britain*, who aims not at that universal Monarchy, which is the invariable Object of French Politics. That both these great States have seen their true Interest in the Augmentation of our Power, by the Reduction of that of *France*, is manifest from the strict Neutrality of the Spaniard, and also from the Neutrality of the States-General, so far observed by them, as not openly to assist *France*, either with their Fleets or Armies, during the present War; which two great and respectable Powers, if they had, with their united Forces, joined the common Enemy of Mankind, would probably have prevented her Fall.

From

From *Portugal*, for much the same Reasons, this Jealousy cannot arise. From *Sardinia* and *Savoy*, this Jealousy cannot well arise. We interfere not with his *Sardinian* Majesty's Interest in any Respect. He is not, nor can he be a great Naval Power. He receives by our Commerce, for raw Silk alone, 100,000*l.* annually. He will surely with Pleasure behold *France* divested of that formidable Power to which he must have been the next Prey after the *Reduction of Spain, Portugal, and Holland*.

From divided *Italy*, most certainly, this Jealousy cannot arise, yet *Italy* will rather chuse the Government of their own Masters than to submit to a *French* Tyrant, who, after *Sardinia* and *Savoy*, would bring her, without Difficulty, under his Yoke. Therefore the power of *France*, alarming to all *Europe*, transferred to *Britain*; who will never disturb the Repose of her Neighbours, must please *Italy* well.

From the Empire, *Prussia*, all the States of *Germany*, and all the northern Kingdoms, this Jealousy can scarce arise. None of them can, from their Situation and the Nature of Commerce, ever expect a Superiority at Sea. Their Downfalls in the Universal Monarchy of *France*, has long engaged their Attention, and been the principal Object of their Fears; and therefore how much so ever some of them may disapprove our Assistance of some of the German Powers, yet their general and common Safety cannot fail to excite their unanimous Joy for the Naval Triumphs of Great Britain.

This being then the Case, I think, fairly stated, in regard to the Dispositions of the several Powers of *Europe*, with respect to our Acquisitions from *France*; the whole Matter is reduced to these four follow-

following Facts, from which one single Question will arise.

First, *Britain* and *France*, are, from the *present* Nature and State of Commerce, the *greatest Naval Powers in Europe*.

Secondly, The Nation in Possession of the *Newfoundland Fishery, Guadaloupe, Senegal and Goree*, by its great Ballance of Riches (as has been already shewn) will render *that the greatest Naval Power*; and if those *beneficial and important Places* are in the Possession of *France*, *France* must consequently be the *greatest Naval Power*; but if they are in the Possession of *Britain*, then *Britain* must be *that greatest Naval Power*.

Thirdly, That *France* by the Possession of *that greatest Naval Power*, will be enabled to carry into Execution, her most ambitious and unjustifiable *Project of Universal Monarchy*, and will consequently *dethrone* one after another, all the *Kings and Princes in Europe*.

Fourthly, That *Britain* being an *Island*, it is *absolutely incompatible* with her Interest, to acquire any additional Territories upon the Continent of *Europe*; as she can never reap any *Advantage* from such Acquisitions, in any Degree adequate to the *Charge* of keeping them. Therefore from *her* being the *greatest Naval Power*, all the *States of Europe* will be infallibly secured from all successful attempts of *France* to conquer their *Dominions*; and in Case she should, notwithstanding her Imbecility, be rash enough to undertake any Thing against them, they may be certain that *Britain*, whose *Interest* it is, to keep down that *perfidious Nation*, will freely employ her whole Naval Strength, if necessary, in their Defence.

From these Facts it plainly appears, that these Places now under Consideration, will furnish that State

State who possesses them with the greatest Superiority at Sea, and that according to the *present* State of Commerce, and the *Nature* of Things, there is an *unavoidable* Necessity of its remaining in the Hands of *Britain*, who never can have any ambitious Views of *Universal Monarchy*, and whose Interest it absolutely is to assist, by Sea, the Powers distressed by *France*; or else, if they fall into the Hands of *France*, she will be enabled, by that *Superiority* at Sea, to accomplish her darling Object of *Universal Monarchy*, and the Ruin of all the Princes and States of *Europe*.

From whence then this single Question ariseth, for the Consideration of all the *European* Potentates.

Since it is an *unavoidable* Necessity, that there must be *one great Naval Power* in *Europe* superior to the Rest; and it is also an *unavoidable* Necessity, that it must be either in the Hands of *Britain* or *France*, in which of those two Nations it is *most* for the general *Security* and *Interest*, that this *great Naval Power* in *Europe*, *superior* to the Rest, should be lodged?

One would be tempted to imagine that no one Potentate of *Europe*, would hesitate one Moment of unanimously to determine in favour of *Britain*.

And if so, what Reason have we to apprehend, that *Jealousies* will arise in the Breasts of all the Powers of *Europe*; and that we shall draw *them* all upon us, by keeping the Whole we have taken from *France*?

But if in spite of all Reason and Truth, they should be *so blind*, as to be jealous of us; what hurt can they do us? *France* herself cannot take our Conquests from us, and then no other Power can.

If

If we restore, what we have taken from *France*, we put, as it were, a Sword into an Assassin's Hand, to put an End to us, and every Prince and State in Europe; and the Universal and deplorable Miseries of *latest* Posterity, groaning under the *Gallic Yoke*, will, with the bitterest Imprecations on their Memories, be imputed to the Corruption and Wickedness of those base *Englishmen*, who shall have been, by such a Restitution, the Cause of universal Perdition. I will therefore conclude this Head in Imitation of our Author.

Delenda est Carthago, demolish France.

I now proceed to the fourth Axiom I laid down (*viz.*) That a Peace with *France* is unnecessary, as no one *national* Argument can be urged in favour of such a Peace.

The cogent Motives to Peace, between Powers at War, most commonly are, when after having weakened each other by Consumption of national Wealth, Loss of Men, and a reciprocally Loss of Territories, they grow tired of War, and are willing to sit down contented with their own Losses, or with an interchange of Prisoners and Lands taken.

This is not (through the good Providence of Almighty God) our Case in any of these Respects, except in that of the Consumption of our national Wealth; however, with Regard to this, we are in a much better Condition than our Enemy; whose public Credit is quite ruined by her Bankruptcy, whilst ours remains good, and so good, that if we could be so fortunate as to get rid of a continental War, and confine ourselves to Naval Armaments (under the continuance of God's Blessing) we are able to subdue *France* so intirely, as to put it for ever out of her

Power to disturb us, or her Neighbours upon the Continent. With Respect to Prisoners, we have in our Custody a very great Number, more of *Frenchmen*, than she has of *Englishmen*. We have of their Territories besides, what we have taken in *North America*, *Guadaloupe*, *Senegal* and *Goree*; they have only *Porimahon*, which though a Place of great Importance whilst *France* is a Naval Power, will be of much less, when that Naval Power is quite destroyed. So that she has nothing of ours, worth our Acceptance, in Exchange for the *least useful* of those Things we have taken from her.

A Sea War therefore, *Britain* is still able to carry on. For this we have little or no Occasion to strain our Credit 'till it breaks, as that of *France* has done. The Money necessary for it may, without further Mortgaging, be raised within the Year amongst ourselves; and will be spent amongst ourselves, or Travel to *America*, the *West-Indies*, or *Africa*, from whence it will return again to us in the Vehicle of Commerce. If then we can carry on War by Sea, which must reduce the Foe, resolved upon our total Perdition, to an absolute Incapacity to injure us for the future; and if her *Reduction* to such a State is the only Foundation *Britain* can stand upon and remain a Nation; what *national Reason* can be offered for a Peace with *France*?

Since then, the Sword is drawn against that treacherous and dangerous Rival, let us not sheath it before we have accomplished our own Preservation and Security. But let us adopt against *France*, the good old *Spanish Proverb* reversed. “War with *France*, and Peace with all the World besides.”

Next

Next falls under our Consideration, the *Innocence* of H——r, and also our Obligations arising from *Gratitude*, *Honour*, the Reputation of our Country, and every Motive of *Generosity* to support her. All which I absolutely deny.

In Pages 36 and 37, our Author, after declaring himself no Friend to continental Measures, has these remarkable Words.

But the continental Measures, now adopted by *England* were *necessary*, both with regard to our Honour and our Interest. *Hanover* has been attacked by *France*, on a Quarrel intirely *English*, and though Care has been taken in the Act of Settlement, that *England* should not be involved in Wars on Account of *Hanover*; yet *Gratitude*, *Honour*, the Reputation of our Country, *every Motive of Generosity* bound us, not to allow the *Innocent Electorate* to be ruined for *England's American* Quarrel with *France*; please particularly to Note what follows. In regard to our Interest, no Minister, however inflexible in his Attachment to his native Country, could have devised Means of making the best Use of our *American* Conquests, if the *French* could have treated with *Hanover* in their Hands. It was with a View to prevent this, to oppose the *French* in their Projects in *Germany*, the Success of which would have been so detrimental to *England* that we *honestly and wisely*,” (*very honestly and wisely indeed!*) “have formed and maintained the Army now commanded by Prince *Ferdinand*, and have entered into Alliance with the King of *Prussia*.”

So we have truly, and a much more expensive one than *England* can afford, and as useless as expensive.

Innocent H——r. But how does her *Innocence* appear? Surely, our Author's bare *ipse dixit*,

is not sufficient to prove the Truth of it. “ Honour, &c” (it seems) “ bound us, not to allow the *innocent* Electorate to be ruined for *England’s American Quarrel*. “ That the *Electorate* has been attacked and plundered by *France* is certain, and with a View, as our author says, to treat with *H——r* in her Hand.” And perhaps, by operating upon our Fears, for her Safety, to prevent our sending proper Succours for the Preservation of our *American Colonies*. But what does this prove more, than that the *French*, by the Possession of *Hanover* thought themselves secure of getting back whatever they might lose, in case they should be baffled in their Attempt upon *America*; which they would never have made, in all Probability, if they had not been encouraged to the Enterprise, by the *zealous* Attachment of our Administration to the Electorate, preferable to their native Country, from the first Purchase of *Bremen* and *Verden* to this Day; by which they were quietly permitted to violate the Treaty of *Utrecht* in time of Peace, by seizing and fortifying those Places in *North America*, ceded to us, by that Treaty; and by debauching the five *Indian Nations*, and setting them upon our Fellow-Subjects. The *French* also naturally judged the same *English* ministerial Zeal, which had not only tamely suffered such *scandalous* Usurpations and Encroachments, but had likewise aided the M——y of *H——r* (who made a *Cat’s Paw* of poor *England* to take every Bone out of the Fire which they wanted to pick) in all their Projects to extend themselves in G——y.

Another Encouragement to the *French*, to commence this *American War*, doubtless, was the *Poverty* of *England*, the Effect of numberless Treaties, calculated for the Interest of the E——te.

—te. Treaties as inconsistent and contradictory to each other, as our Author himself is in his Letter to two great Men, by which we became tributary, not only to almost all the *great Powers* by Turns; but likewise to *most* of the *petty German* Princes, on whom we have been lavishing our Wealth ever since Queen *Ann's* Death.

The *French*, encouraged by all these Motives, invaded our *American Colonies*, and, during the War, the Electorate. But her past Calamities and her present Danger cannot, therefore, reasonably be deemed the Consequences of our *American Quarrel*; but our *American Quarrel* is most evidently the *Consequence* of the *grasping Appetite* of the *H——n M——y*, to extend the *Dominions* of the *E——te* at the exorbitant and unsupportable Expence of this Nation, assisted by the *foolish* and *unjustifiable* Attachments of the several *British Administrations* to the Interest of *H——r*. Too frequently by them preferred to that of their *native Country*.

Thus the *innocent* stiled Electorate, tho' attacked with us, during the Course of the War, appears to be the *original Cause* of *it*, and of our *American Quarrel*, and consequently, she is so far from being *innocent*, that she is *guilty* of all the *Danger* we have been in.

And as a farther Evidence of this, I appeal to our author himself, and ask him if he does not believe, that if our Progenitors had made the Separation of *H——r*, the Condition *Sine qua non* of the Accession, *this Nation*, instead of being upwards of One Hundred Millions in Debt, and having raised upon the Subject upwards of One Hundred Millions more, would not have been long since, by a proper Application of the sinking Fund, out of Debt; and by being unloaded

loaded of the heavy Duties upon her Commerce, would not also have been able, to have sold Sugars and other Commodities in the foreign Markets, as *cheap* as *France*; and thereby, have been in a Condition to have deterred her from invading our Possessions in *America*, and attempting Invasions upon this Island? This being the Case, *H——r*, evidently, appears to be, tho' perhaps the remote, yet the *principal* and *sole* Cause of the present War, and of all our other Misfortunes. And if so, what becomes of our Author's Principles of *Gratitude*, *Honour*, *Reputation*, and *Motives of Generosity*, by which, he avers *England* is "bound," not to allow the *innocent* Electorate (as he in spite of Fact and all Reason calls it) "to be ruined, for (as he with as little Conformity to Fact and Reason is also pleased to call it) *England's American Quarrel with France*? They all fall to the Ground.

But suppose only, (for I do not grant it) that we were under Obligations of *Gratitude*, &c. to *H——r*; such Obligations can extend no farther than to call upon *England* for such Aid *only* as is *consistent* with the *Self-Preservation* of *England*. What Obligations of *Gratitude*, *Honour*, &c. do require a People to be guilty of Suicide, and to work their own Destruction? In what Book will our *Author* find such Tenets? No Treaty offensive or defensive, requires this. Many Instances might be produced, where the Parties have, to prevent their own Ruin, *justly* refused to fulfil their Engagements, but I will mention *only one*. *Hanover*, to deliver herself out of the Hands of *France*, regardless of her Engagements to *Prussia*, and the fatal Consequences that might have attended the King of *Prussia*, her natural Ally, struck up a *Neutrality* with their

common

common Enemy. If then the *Electorate*, to prevent her own Ruin, hath set *us* this Example, how can she expect *England* to be *less* provident of her *own* Preservation? She can have no Cause to blame *us*, if we follow *her own* Example; and leave her to shift for herself, as she did *Prussia*; and if we do not, I fear, we shall be the laughing Stock of all *Europe*.

In the Close of the above cited Paragraph, our *Author* avows the Object of our sending Troops to *Germany*, and maintaining all the Army commanded by Prince *Ferdinand*, to be the saving the *Electorate*, and preventing the *French* treating with *H——r* in their Hands; and justifies the Measure, by asserting it to be for our Interest; which he endeavours to prove in these remarkable Words. “In Regard to our *Interest*, no *English* Minister, however inflexible in his Attachment to his native Country, could have devised the Means of making the best Use of our *American* Conquests, if the *French* could have treated with *Hanover* in their Hands.” Why could not such a Minister, in that Case, have made the best Use of our *American* Conquests? because, to be sure, *France* would have insisted upon *England*’s giving up all those Conquests: For this our Author must mean, if he means any Thing; because he offers for a Peace, all our Conquests, which are of *real Importance* to us; except *Crown-Point*, *Niagra* and *Fort Du Quesne*; which, however necessary to us, bring no great Riches into the Nation. And therefore, he can propose this, for no other End, but the *Security* of *Hanover*; who, for the Reasons I have given, has been the *principal* Cause of the *present* War; which has been already attended with an Expence to this Nation, of upwards of Forty Millions and endangered our very Existence.

Existence. So that it is manifest, beyond all Contradiction, that what I, at my setting out, asserted is true ; that our *Author's* Propositions for Peace, are calculated for the *Security* and *Interest* of *Hanover* alone ; and tend to the Dishonour, Distress and Ruin of this Country ; by putting it into the Power of *France* to recover her *almost lost* Trade and *bumbled naval* Strength, to face again our Fleets, to break the Treaty, and even to retake from *us*, the poor Remainder our *Author* is pleased to leave us, of those *useful* Places, we have by your means, Sir, so *gloriously* taken from her :

Our *Author* has told us in Page 27, that *France* is unable to carry on a War by Land, and at the same time vie with us at Sea. Are *we* able to carry on War by Land and Sea ? Our *Author* must know we are not ; his *own* Picture of our *bad* Circumstances must tell him so. Why then must we strain the Cord till it cracks ? If we must defend *H——r*, because she has been attacked in the present War, which (I still persist in it) she was the *first* Occasion of, his Argument will hold *ad Infinitum* ; for when his wise Propositions for Peace, have enabled the *French* to disturb us again, she will doubtless attack the *Electorate* again, with the same Views she has now done, and we can never defend ourselves, without the Risk of entire Ruin, by carrying *H——r* on our Backs. Has not *H——r* infinite Obligations to *Britain*? Have not Millions upon Millions been raised upon the *British* Subjects for her *Emolument*? Has not *British* Blood profusely streamed for her Sake alone ? and for her Sake alone, has not the *British* Commerce been totally neglected, and loaded with most heavy and intolerable Duties, and *Britain* herself reduced to the very Point

Point of being swallowed up by *France*? In return for all these mighty Favours bestowed upon the *Electorate*, have we received from her one single Farthing in return? has she given us the least Assistance in the last or present War, both which, are the unhappy Effects of her *self extending Views in Germany*? Or was, or will she be ever able to give us any Assistance in the future Broils she may involve us in? What then, again I ask, becomes of those Principles of Gratitude, &c. by which he says we are bound to defend the *Electorate*? Let me suppose a Case very similar to this we are upon. A poor unhappy Man, not many Years ago, set his Heart upon the high Titles and great Fortunes of a Noble Lord; but was too poor to Attempt his Design of divesting him of his Possessions, without Assistance from others. Suppose our Author, without Expectation of any Recompence, had profusely squandered, in Support of this Person, so much of his own Fortune, that he had no more left, than a Sufficiency to keep himself out of Goal, would he not then have provided for his own Safety by with-holding his rash Liberality? Suppose, upon this, any Man unreasonably had desired the Continuance of his former Support of this Person; and upon excusing himself on Account of his own great Poverty, brought on by his former Assistance, would he not have been astonished at the Messenger's Assurance, if he had made the following Reply? Sir, you are bound by Gratitude, Honour and Generosity to support Mr. A—; his own little scanty Fortune will be ruined, if you withdraw your Assistance? Our Author, I am convinced would, with Indignation, have answered, that is impossible. I have almost ruined myself for Mr. A—, without the least

Expectation of Return ; and I am not obliged by any Principles of *Gratitude*, *Honour* or *Generosity*, to ruin myself for Mr. A——. I have no such Obligations to Mr. A—— ; he has great ones to me ; if one must be ruined, let him be the Man. Nor can I think our *Author* would have been prevailed on, if, after being hooked in by Mr. A—— to support him ; he had been told, that he drew him into the Law-Suit.

If then, Sir, our *Author* will have it, that a Nation ought to *ruin* itself upon Principles of *Gratitude*, the Argument makes against him ; for the Obligations of *Gratitude* are wholly on the Side of the *Electorate* towards *us* ; not on *our* Side towards *her* : And if Principles of *Gratitude* bind a People to suffer *Ruin* for another, then *most* certainly the *Electorate*, who has received from *Britain* all she could possibly bestow, and more than she could afford or justify, is bound by those Principles of *Gratitude* to suffer her own *Ruin*, without involving *us*, and as *certainly* *Britain*, who neither is *benefited* by her Money, nor her Aid, is not, nor can she be bound to suffer *ruin* for the *Electorate*.

Our *Author* has expressed his Wonder at our Escape from *Bankruptcy* ; and must be convinced from his own Description of our Finances ; that our *Ruin* must ensue our Endeavours to rescue H——r. And thus, Sir, is the Argument brought to this single Point. *Britain* or H——r must probably be ruined. For one or the other must fall according to our Authors dispersed Reasonings. This being the Case, I shall make no Scruple again to imitate our *Author* and say, *Delenda est Carthago, DEMOLISH H——r.* Unless such a total Separation of her from Great *Britain* can be obtained ; as will, *for ever* bereft after

after, prevent her from being the Cause of that Nation's Destruction, which has so manifestly exhausted its own Strength to promote her Interest, and aggrandize her Power. The Time of holding a Congress will be the proper Time to obtain this great Blessing. The Consent of the *Germanic* Body is, I think, necessary to alter the Succession to the *Electorate*. The *Members* of it will, likely, be more easily prevailed upon, to part with their old Milch Cow, now she is so drained, as not to be able to afford each of them, much longer, the Quantity of a *Tea spoonful* of Milk. Besides, that being thoroughly harrassed with the Desolation of War, they, probably, will be glad to enjoy Peace upon any Terms. An Address from Parliament to the Throne will be, I imagine, the first Step to this *good and necessary* Work. I therefore take this Opportunity to remind a Noble Lord of the Promise he made when a Member of the House of Commons, to move for a Bill to separate the *German Dominions* from *Great Britain*. No one can well Respect the great Abilities and shining Virtues of that noble Personage more than I do; and nothing can recommend him more to the Esteem and Respect of all true *Britons*, than the Performance of that Promise.

It would, Sir, be endless to trace our Author through all his Absurdities. I only shall observe, that his Proposition to give up to *France* those Acquisitions upon which the Fate of either Nation *absolutely* depends, to save the King of *Prussia*, with whom we can have no natural Connection; and that thinking this a popular Measure, is not the least of his Absurdities; and,

That we have received great Advantages from this continental War, by diverting the Forces and Riches of *France*, which she might otherwise have

have employed against us, is trifling Reasoning; because it has been no less a Diversion to us, since those *very Forces* and *Riches* which we sent to *Germany* for the Defence of *Prussia* and *Hanover*, might have been more advantageously employed for our Defence either at Home, or in *America*. To which *last Place* if they had been destined, our *Victories* might have been *more easy*, and *Great Britain*, perhaps, might have still been blessed with the Life of the greatest General in the World, and of a Man, as honest as yourself.

I flatter myself that I have sufficiently explained the great Importance to this Nation of *Louisbourg*, the *Newfoundland Fishery*, *Guadaloupe*, *Senegal* and *Goree*: Upon keeping the Possession of all which the Existence of *Great Britain*, as a Nation, absolutely depends; I hope no English Minister will be so depravedly Germanized, as to give them back to *France*. But if that should be the Case, there can be no Doubt, but you, Sir, will exert your most vigorous Efforts to save your own Children from being stifled in the Cradle. Whoever does give up those Acquisitions to *France*, with them gives up his Country; —and whoever gives up his Country, deserves the severest Justice. And therefore, under such an irreparable Misfortune; the last good Service you can do your Country (and I dare say you will do it) will be, to impeach the Germanized Wretch, that shall thus betray Old England, and never to leave nor forsake him, before you have gratified the Expectations of a most injured People, with the Spectacle of his Head fixed upon Temple-Bar.

That you, Sir, may, in perfect Health, attended with every other Blessing; long, very long enjoy the glorious Titles your affectionate and grateful Country has heaped upon you, of Sir, your Royal Master's wise and honest Councillor;

of

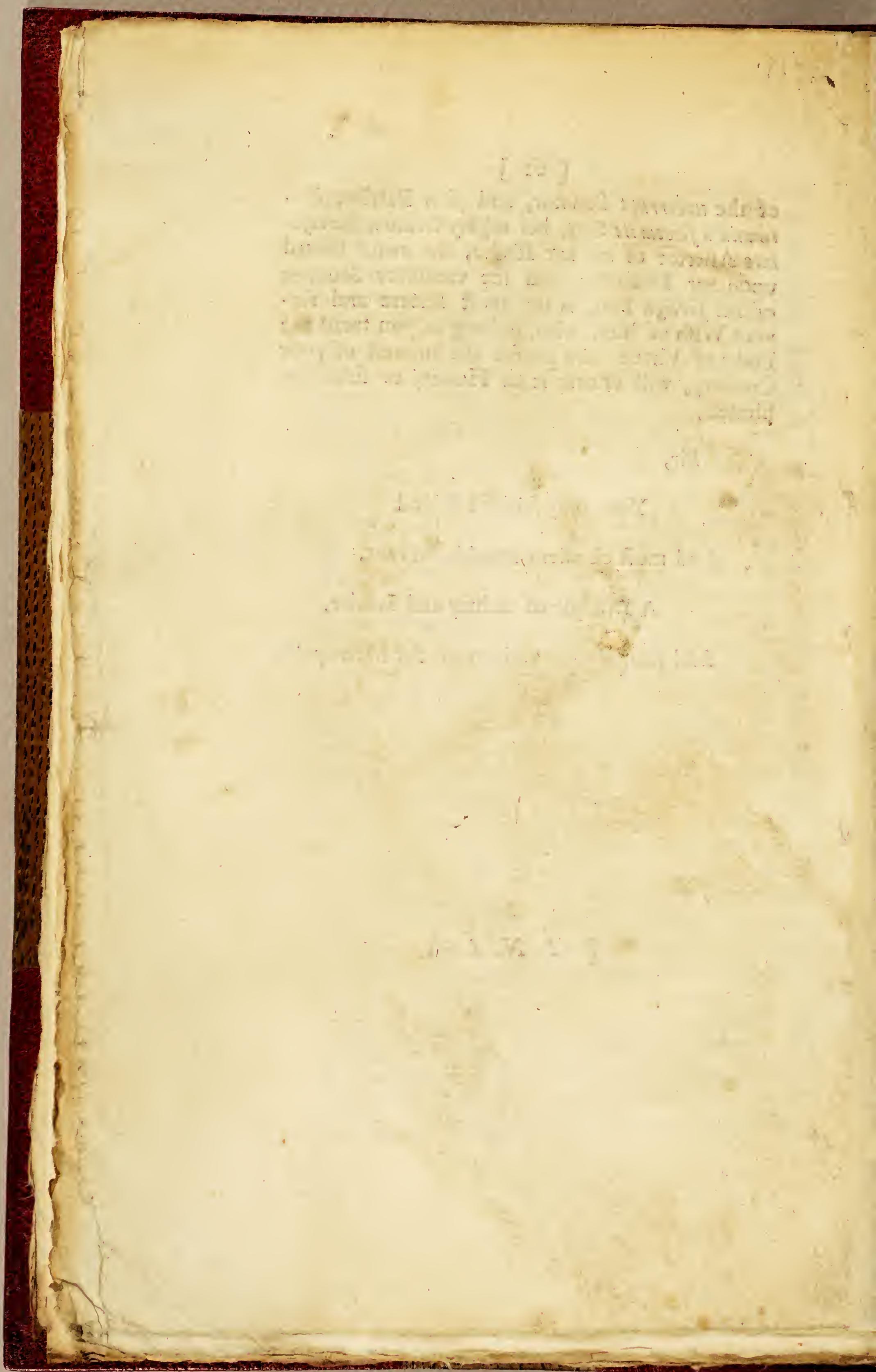
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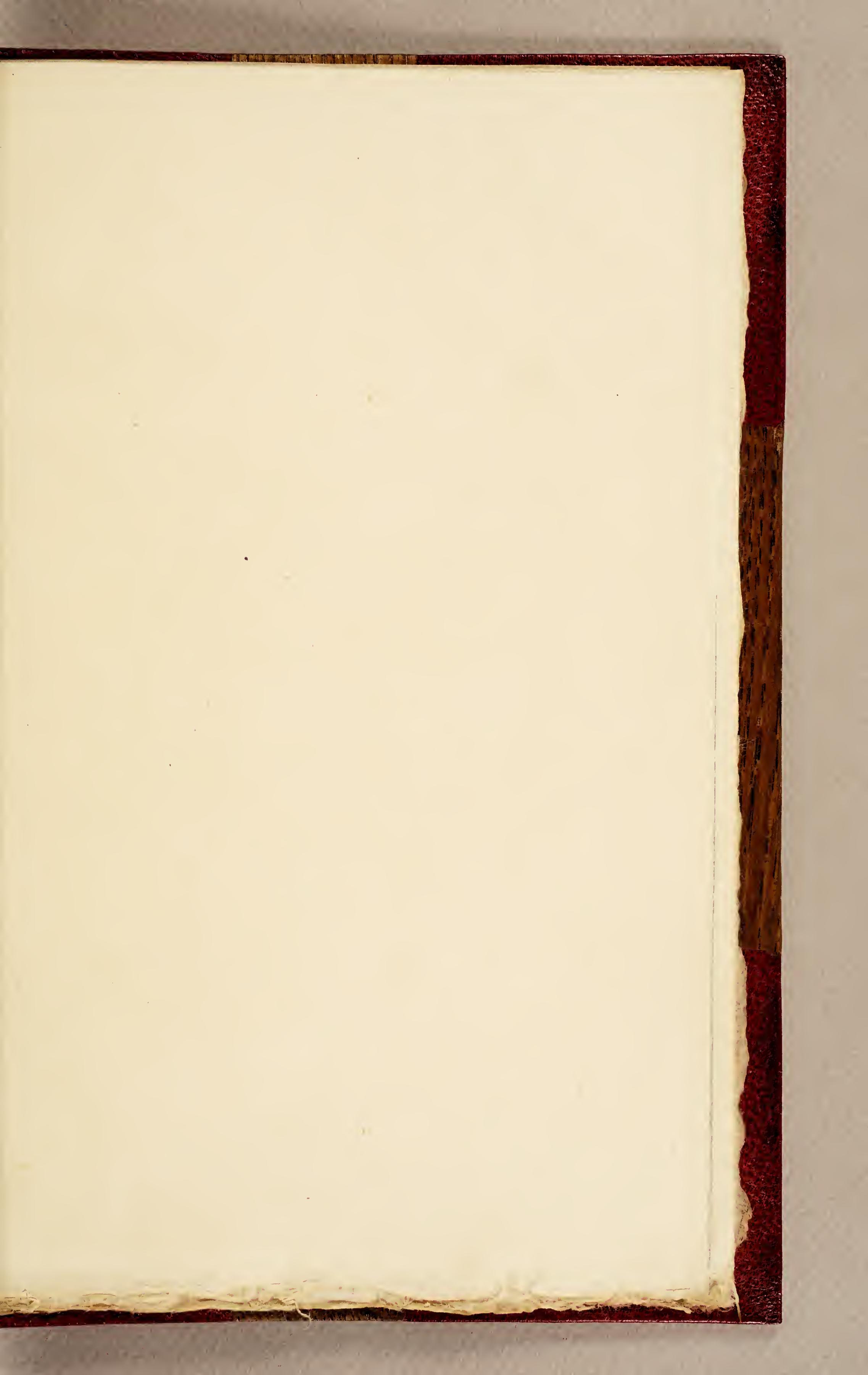
of the *uncorrupt Senator*, and *firm Patriot*, *Bri-*
tannia's favourite Son, her *mighty Genius*, the *reso-*
lute Assertor of all her Rights, the *awful Guard*
upon her *Domestic*, and the *vindictive Scourge*
of her *foreign Foes*, is the most sincere and fer-
vent Wish of him, who, as long as you tread the
Paths of Virtue, and pursue the Interest of your
Country, will esteem it an Honor, to subscribe
himself,

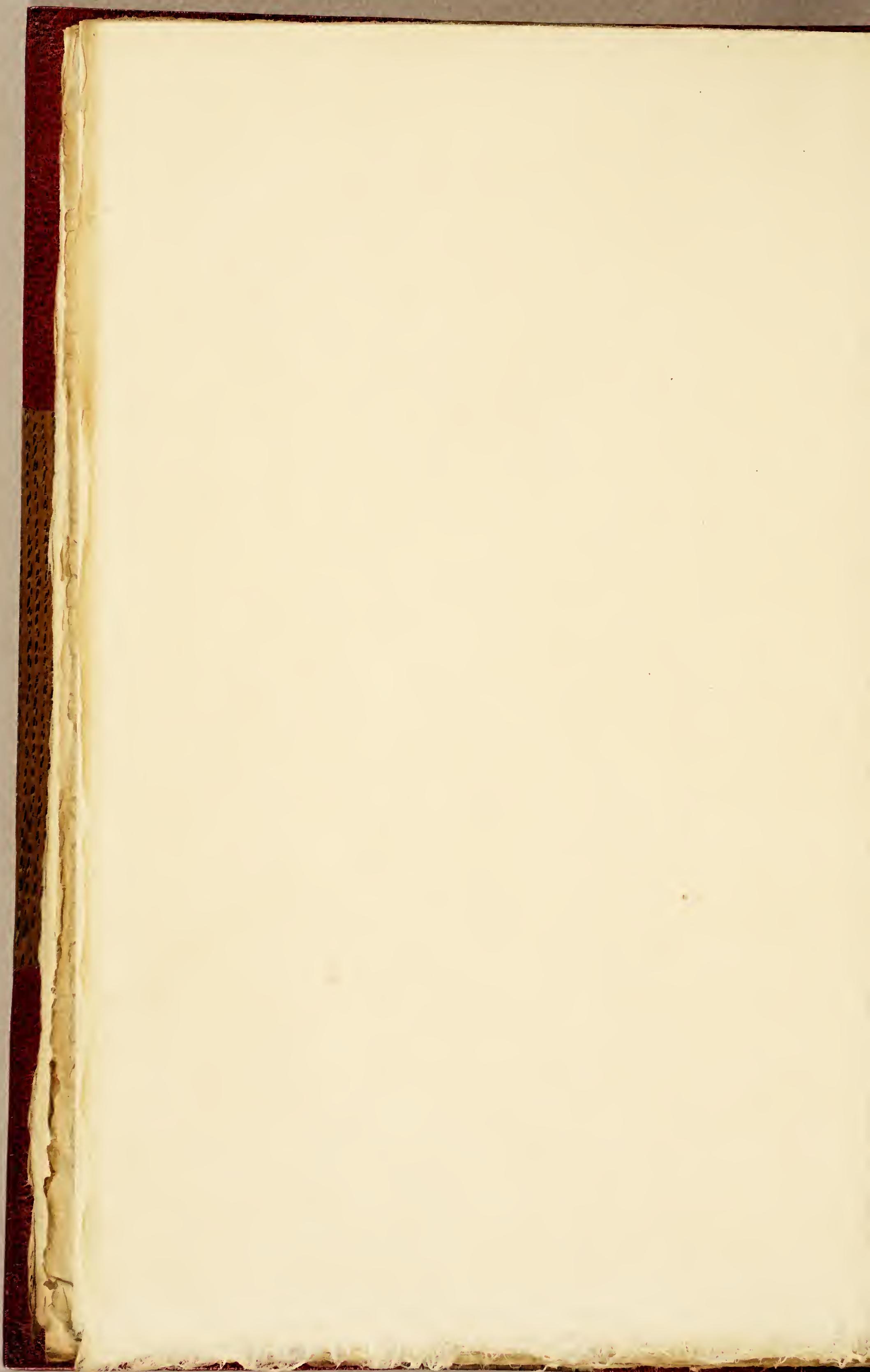
Sir,

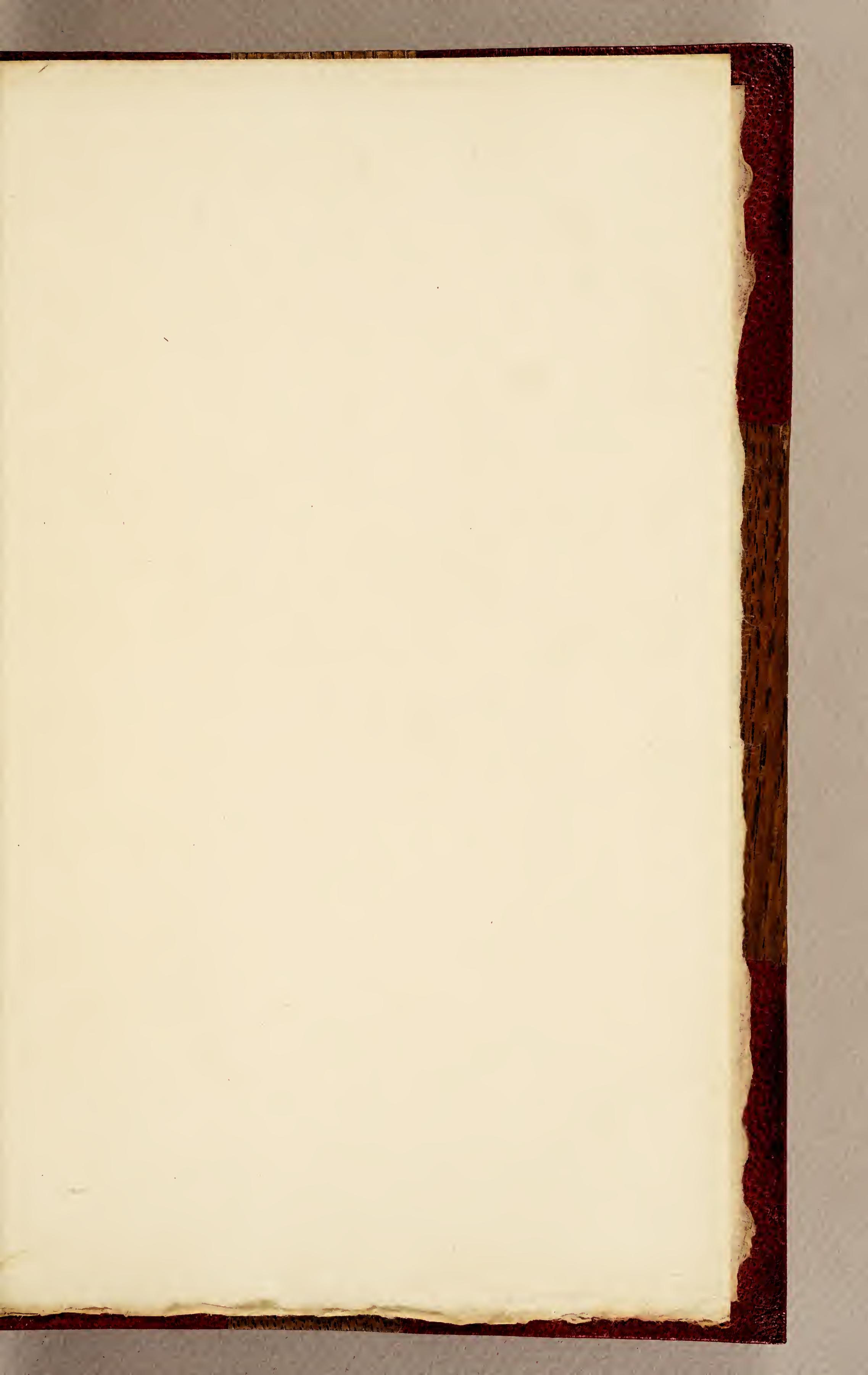
Your very faithful Friend
And most obedient humble Servant,
A Disciple of Sidney and Locke,
And your Fellow Citizen of the Metropolis.

F I N I S.









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